# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Vol. XLIV Spring, 1979 No. 1


*Friends of the Library*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
1979

# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE


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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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VOLUME XLIV · SPRING 1979 · NUMBER 1



Published semiannually by the Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library. Subscription rate, $10.00 for non-members. § Articles and notes of bibliographic and bibliophile interest are invited. Contributions should be submitted to William E. Miller, Editor, *The Library Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

# Notes on the Origins of "Sister Carrie"

THOMAS P. RIGGIO*

I asked Dreiser if really it were true that the name came first and the characters and theme afterwards. "Yes, actually! My mind was a blank except for the name. I had no idea who or what she was to be. I have often thought there was something mystic about it, as if I were being used, like a medium."

Dorothy Dudley, *Forgotten Frontiers: Dreiser and the Land of the Free*

ASIDE from the Doubledays' role in the "suppression" of *Sister Carrie*, no part of the novel's history is better known than Dreiser's version of the genesis of "Sister Carrie." The story Dreiser told Dorothy Dudley is a more elaborate reworking of an earlier account he had given H. L. Mencken: "Finally—September 1899 I took a piece of yellow paper and to please [Arthur Henry] wrote down a title at random—*Sister Carrie*—and began."[1] With these enigmatic clues to the origin of the book's title and its main character's name, Dreiser gave his first novel a providential aura of mystery that became part of the legend of *Sister Carrie*.

Since the first publication of the novel in 1900, two sources for Dreiser's title have been emphasized. There is, of course, Dreiser's sister Emma and her affair with L. A. Hopkins, a clerk in the Chicago saloon of Chapin and Gore. For certain details in the first half of the book, Dreiser used the facts of Emma and Hopkins's flight, first to Canada and then to New York, with $3,500 of Chapin and Gore's payroll. However, Dreiser modified this escapade so extensively that the story of Carrie Meeber—and particularly the development of the forces that motivated her—bears little resemblance to Emma's career or personality. The second source often cited for "Sister Carrie" is Balzac, who early influenced Dreiser and whose novels bear titles like *Cousin Pons*, *Père Goriot*, and *Cousine Bette*. Dreiser seems to have acknowledged the point by placing *Père Goriot* in Carrie's lap toward the end of the story. But again we must qualify a fair assumption: the *père*, *cousin*, and *cousine* in Balzac's titles identify the novels as family chronicles, with the main character's action at the center of a

* Associate Professor of English, University of Connecticut.

family's destiny. Carrie's sisterhood, on the contrary, does not dramatically affect her family; in fact, Dreiser goes out of his way to explain that for Carrie "the threads which bound her so lightly to girlhood and home"[2] are easily broken.

Despite the limitations of the Emma/Balzac hypotheses, most readers would agree with Donald Pizer's recent conclusion: "By writing the title Dreiser was signifying that he wished to write a Balzacian novel about the adventures of his sister Emma."[3] But Dreiser's cryptic comments about "Sister Carrie" may be taken differently, namely, as a statement that he drew the inspiration for his title and character not only from easily definable origins but from a reservoir of imaginative resources. There is, in fact, a complex network of influences behind the making of "Sister Carrie." I shall analyze these factors, first, with reference to the notion of sisterhood in the novel, paying special attention to the many meanings the familial locution had for Dreiser in 1899. I will then examine a hitherto unnoticed "Carrie" in Dreiser's writing. This "Carrie" can be found in the manuscript of his autobiography, *Dawn*. Four important links exist between the *Dawn* "Carrie" and the title of Dreiser's novel: (1) Dreiser conceives of the *Dawn* "Carrie" as a "sister," (2) she holds symbolic significance for Dreiser as a key figure in his early sexual awakening, (3) Dreiser describes her with the language and imagery he had used for Carrie Meeber, and (4) her name is systematically and intentionally worked out of the texts of *Dawn* in the various stages of composition from manuscript to the first edition—a practice Dreiser reserved in *Dawn* for the most intimate facets of his life. Moreover, "Carrie's" exclusion from *Dawn* took place during the years in which Dreiser was developing the version of "Sister Carrie's" origin that he gave to Mencken and Dorothy Dudley.

The *Dawn* Carrie helps to round out the picture of what besides his sister and Balzac went into the illuminative moment that left Dreiser, as he told it, with "Sister Carrie" at the top of a blank sheet of yellow paper. Even though he rarely chose character names casually, Dreiser's choice of "Sister Carrie" has elicted almost no attention. Only Donald Pizer has been willing to speculate on the matter: "Emma, whose full name was Emma Wilhelmina, was indeed often called Minnie, which suggests that Dreiser may have derived the name Carrie as a diminutive parallel to Minnie. Carrie's sister, it

should be recalled, is named Minnie Hanson."[4] Evidence is scarce, so Pizer's is a reasonable conjecture. The *Dawn* Carrie, however, gives greater clarity to the naming of Dreiser's most famous fictional sibling. It also sheds light on the "sister" in Dreiser's title, suggesting a meaning beyond the usual literal-minded connection with his real-life sister.

## II

Even if the *Dawn* Carrie did not exist, the implications of "sister" for Dreiser in 1899 would deserve further thought. *Sister Carrie* itself provides a number of meanings other than biological for the concept of sisterhood. Accustomed to thinking of Carrie as a rendering of Emma Dreiser—and of Carrie's emotional life as a combination of Dreiser's and his mother's—we tend to overlook the various uses of "sister" in the novel.

First, Carrie is a sister to the new American women of her day who were entering the city from the American heartland. There they "feel the drag of desire for all which was new and pleasing" (p. 24), and there, unprepared either practically or morally, they struggled to meet the demands of "the flesh and the spirit"—to use the only other title considered for the novel. Early in the story, Dreiser presents Carrie, freshly arrived in Chicago, as standing in an indeterminate position in relation to the "sisters" she finds in her new setting:

> Carrie was not familiar with the appearance of her more fortunate sisters of the city. Neither had she before known the nature and appearance of the shop girls with whom she now compared poorly. They were pretty in the main, some even handsome, with an air of independence and indifference which added, in the case of the more favoured, a certain piquancy. Their clothes were neat, in many instances fine. . . . She realised in a dim way how much the city held—wealth, fashion, ease—every adornment for women, and she longed for dress and beauty with a whole heart. (p. 25)

In this context, Dreiser's portrait of Carrie as "sister" defines an emerging type of woman—the offspring of a century of industrialization, of the movement from town and farm to urban centers, and of rapid shifts in roles and values. Dreiser's sense of Carrie as a "sister" in this passage anticipates the use of sisterhood as a referent to class

solidarity in the blacks' and women's movements. To be sure, it is Dreiser, not his character, who understands the full import of her situation. Though Carrie eventually enters the ranks of "her more fortunate sisters," she never matures enough to understand the underlying causes of her less fortunate sisters' plight. Yet, as Dreiser is constantly at pains to tell us, she has a big heart, and she remembers and sympathizes vaguely with the lowly workers even after she scrapes her way up to financial success:

> She knew that out in Chicago this very day the same factory chamber was full of poor homely-clad girls working in long lines at clattering machines; that at noon they would eat a miserable lunch in a half-hour; that Saturday they would gather, as they had when she was one of them, and accept the small pay for work a hundred times harder than she was now doing. (p. 505)

Dreiser himself made this sort of identification along class lines throughout his life—an identification he spelled out in terms of his early experience as a son and brother in the impoverished Dreiser household. This side of Dreiser, born of the necessity that makes extended families more than a working-class luxury, is found in his best writing. As Ellen Moers remarks, "In the most literal sense, as his letters and autobiographical writings show clearly, Dreiser wrote as a brother. This is the central fact about his work. . . ."[5] As for Carrie, she too is a sister to others besides Minnie, though, as her reaction to Minnie shows, Carrie's quality of imagination removes her from the world her sisters inhabit. In that elusive sense, of both belonging to and pushing beyond one's roots, did Dreiser identify Carrie Meeber consistently as a sister.

To be a "sister" in *Sister Carrie* also means to be a kept woman. When Drouet finds rooms on Wabash Avenue and arranges for Carrie to leave the Hansons, he announces to her, "Now, you're my sister" (p. 80). This act and declaration leads Carrie that evening to write a note to Minnie, severing the last ties to her natural family and becoming Drouet's "sister." Carrie's letter prompts Minnie's elegant "Sister Carrie has gone to live somewhere else" (p. 84)—that is, it brings forth the kind of understated response that Dreiser uses so effectively to define character and situation. In this case, the title "sister" has a formal ring to it; it declares that Carrie is carrying her sisterhood beyond Columbia City and Minnie's flat to all the figures and places in the novel—to Drouet, to the girls in the sweat-

shop and the chorus line, to Lola Osborne, and even to Hurstwood. In fact, as she is governed by Dreiser's authorial voice, Carrie's presence in the book is felt not so much as a lover, an actress, or a friend, but as a dependent sister.

These two ways of presenting sisterhood in the novel—in class terms as part of an extended family and as an object of desire—have biographical analogues in Dreiser's experience in the late 1890s. Two "sisters" entered the Dreiser family in 1898 and 1899, and both had something to do with the making of "Sister Carrie."

The first "sister" was not Dreiser's but his brother Paul's. The story of how Louise Kerlin became Louise Dresser illustrates what sisterhood could mean for the Dreiser family. In 1899, Louise Kerlin walked into the Howley, Haviland, and Dresser Music Company to audition for the popular songwriter Paul Dresser. After learning that she was the daughter of William S. Kerlin, an engineer on the Indiana E.T.& T.H. Railroad, Paul Dresser, who had once been a "candy butcher" on Kerlin's train, asked Miss Kerlin to sing a few of his songs, including "On the Banks of the Wabash." Afterwards, Miss Dresser recalls, "Paul's face was wet with tears."[6] Louise Dresser's description of how she became Paul's "sister" deserves quoting at length:

> Suddenly he wheeled around in his chair and called a number on the telephone. It was the *Chicago Tribune*, I think, and this is what he said to the friend he had called: "I just want you to know that my kid sister, Louise Dresser, is here in Chicago and is opening on the 'Masonic Roof' in a few weeks. I didn't want her to go on the stage, but she went anyway. She's been calling herself Louise Kerlin, but from now on she is Louise Dresser."
>
> Then he called the Masonic Roof Garden, at that time the finest vaudeville theater in Chicago, owned and managed by John J. Murdock, one of Paul's best friends. He told Mr. Murdock he wanted an opening for his "sister"—and he got it.
>
> Then he turned back to me. "Your father was an idol of mine when I was a boy. If there is anything I can do for his girl to help her make a name for herself, it's done right now."
>
> He hadn't asked my consent, how I felt about it, and the two men in the room were completely ignored. It was his idea, his way of thanking my father and none of us had anything to do with it.[7]

Louise Dresser's meeting with Paul earlier in the year that Dreiser

began writing *Sister Carrie* led to her meteoric climb to fame, first as a vaudeville star, then as an actress on the stage and in film. She remembers that shortly after becoming Paul Dresser's "sister" she was "commanding a salary of $1,750 a week, a lot of money in those days (a lot of money any day)."[8] In 1899 Dreiser was not on the best of terms with his brother Paul; but it is unlikely that he did not know about "sister" Louise by September 1899. The Louise Dresser story made headlines and Paul had consulted his brother Ed (the brother who was closest to Dreiser at the time) about his decision. More importantly, Dreiser certainly would have known about Louise Dresser by the time he decided to turn his own "Sister Carrie" into an overnight stage success. The elements of Louise Dresser's personal life—the midwestern, small-town girl come to the big city, the swift transformation into a musical-comedy "star," the title of "sister"—correspond to the larger curve of Carrie Meeber's story. So close is that correspondence that one wonders what the odds are of two brothers independently creating two such sisters in the same year. In a sense, Dreiser's shaping of Carrie's career as an actress provided him with an imaginative power to control his world in ways for which he always admired (and envied) Paul. Also, the Louise Dresser incident gives dramatic emphasis to the Dreisers' instinct for conferring sisterhood on girls associated with their early years in Indiana.

Dreiser acquired another sister less than a year before he began *Sister Carrie*. If Louise Dresser embodied the form of sisterhood rooted in class interests, then Rose White represented the sister who was an object of desire. Rose was the only other member of the White family present in Washington, D.C., when Dreiser married her sister Sara on December 28, 1898. Both in *A Book about Myself* (1922) and in the fictional account of his courtship in *The "Genius"* (1915), Dreiser makes it clear that he fell in love with both sisters.

In *A Book about Myself*, Dreiser introduces the two sisters from rural Missouri in somewhat the same terms he used for Carrie. In 1894 Dreiser met Sara White in the identical setting that he would construct for Carrie's first meeting with Drouet—on a train headed for Chicago. Sara was visiting the Chicago Exhibition, and though Dreiser was nervous in her company, his position as a reporter on the St. Louis *Republic* impressed the attractive schoolteacher. Her attentiveness gave him the courage to speak:

" 'You've never been to Chicago, then?' I asked.

" 'Oh no. I've never been anywhere really. I'm just a simple country girl, you know.' "[9]

Dreiser also met this simple country girl's sister Rose in Chicago, and he immediately felt the pull of conflicting attractions. He thought Rose "quite as innocent" (p. 247) but more spirited and flirtatious than her older sister. A later visit to the White home confirmed his initial impression. Clearly she was the more desirable of the sisters, if only because she was the more unattainable:

> . . . I was thrown in with R——, the sister of my adored one, and in spite of myself, I found myself being swiftly drawn to her, desperately so, and that in the face of the strong attachment for her sister. . . . For some reason, both on the boat and in the water, she devoted herself to me, until she seemed suddenly to realize what was happening to us both. Then she desisted and I saw her no more, or very little of her; but the damage had been done. I was intensely moved by her, even dreaming of changing my attentions; but she was too fond of her sister to allow anything like that. (p. 266)

Rose's charm for Dreiser did not diminish with his marriage; if anything, it grew as he came to have second thoughts about Sara. Dreiser later wrote Mencken that it was his "sister" Rose who, shortly after he had completed *Sister Carrie* and before he had sent it to Doubleday, came to live with them and urged him to read Frank Norris's *McTeague*: "Rose, who was [a] peach in her way intellectually and otherwise, persuaded me to read it. . . . It was the first real American book I had ever read. . . ."[10] As he thought of her, then, the simple small-town girl from Missouri had the imaginative potential that her sister lacked and that Dreiser attributed to Carrie Meeber.

Rose White's conventional background, her adventurous spirit, her sexual appeal, her "artistic" sensibility, her innocence combined with a flair that appealed to men, and her sisterly relation to Dreiser argue for her as a prototype for "Sister Carrie." These qualities of Rose White may have contributed to the "elevated" character traits Dreiser imposed upon Carrie even as he followed the outline of Emma's story.

Since no single source exhausts the possibilities of what was in Dreiser's mind in 1899, it would be foolish to point to one original for the "random" creation of "Sister Carrie." Sisters, after all, play

key parts in Dreiser's books from *Sister Carrie* to *A Gallery of Women* (1929). However, on the basis of the evidence in *Sister Carrie* and of the biographical parallels in Dreiser's life before September 1899, we may say that sisterhood had a wide range of conscious and subconscious associations for him—meanings not limited to the models of Emma Dreiser and Balzac. In his first novel, Dreiser gave us his most famous fictional sister. But whose sister is she? Dreiser's? A member of the Balzac family? Paul Dresser's "sister" Louise? Sara White's younger sister? An unknown sister in Drouet's sense of the term? Or one of those transplanted sisters from Dreiser's early Indiana days that figure so prominently in *Dawn*? The answer surely lies in a complicated mixture of all these figures as they blended in Dreiser's mind. Of the early Indiana sisters, one called Carrie has a special place in any study of "Sister Carrie's" origins.

## III

When Horace Liveright published *Dawn* in 1931, Carrie Rutter did not appear among the large cast of characters that Dreiser had assembled in the memoirs of his first twenty years in Indiana and Chicago. Nor can one find her sister Maud Rutter in the 589 pages of the first edition.

Both sisters, however, exist in the "Dawn" manuscript housed in the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana, Bloomington. They are first mentioned briefly in manuscript chapter XXXIII, then at greater length in chapters XXXIX and XL. Much of the subject matter of chapter XXXIII made its way into chapter 36 of the printed text; chapters XXXIX and XL contain the core of *Dawn* chapters 40 and 41. From manuscript to first edition, Dreiser revised extensively: in the substance of the text, in the order that the narrative takes, and in the minute sentence-by-sentence revision of holograph copy. We are able to follow the progress of these chapters in two existing typescripts, one in the Dreiser Collection at the University of Pennsylvania, the other at the Lilly Library. *Dawn*'s compositional history is too large a subject even to outline here. One point, however, should be made. The common assumption is that "*Dawn* was published after long storage, representing the Dreiser of 1917 rather than 1931."[11] But it is clear from internal evidence, from the various typescripts (with their thoroughgoing holograph revisions), and from

Dreiser's letters to Louise Campbell, that roughly one-third of *Dawn* was composed between 1920 and 1930.

For the purposes of this essay, the Lilly manuscript and the Pennsylvania typescript are the essential pre-1931 texts. In the typescript we witness the beginning of the transformation of the manuscript Carrie Rutter that leads to her final exclusion in the printed text. From internal evidence—such as his reference to *Twelve Men* (1919) in holograph sections added to the typescript—we can date this process in the decade after 1919, that is, in the years after Dreiser began propagating the story of the origin of "Sister Carrie."

Chapters 36, 40, and 41 of *Dawn* focus on Dreiser's years in Warsaw, Indiana. Part of the Dreiser family moved in the fall of 1884 from Chicago to Warsaw where some of Sarah Dreiser's relatives lived. The resettlement seemed a blessing to the young Dreiser: his overbearing father remained at his job in Terre Haute, the early scandals connected with brother Rome and his sisters were behind them, the older sisters themselves stayed in Chicago, and, for the first time, at age thirteen, Dreiser was free of the dreaded parochial schools. In May Calvert's classroom he received the kind of attention—part motherly, part intellectual—that he sought in his later affairs with women. The public school system also offered him his first contact with the children of "respectable" families. Naturally, he took a keen interest in the girls of Warsaw. These chapters are part of a sequence in *Dawn* whose chief emphasis is upon Dreiser's earliest sexual awareness: " . . . sex, sex, sex! How the hot fire nature had lighted in my body was driving me to almost frantic efforts at self-satiation! And how, for the next two or three years (to say nothing of the next twenty-five) it harried me from hell to hell!"[12] The advent of puberty is the outstanding event of the Warsaw years, and Dreiser remembers it as a mixture of poetic longings and guilt-ridden desires. From the beginning, the objects of his passion were divided between two extremes: first, there was Myrtle Trego (in manuscript, Myrtle Weimar), the girl who functions as a poetic ideal that Dreiser could not associate with sexuality; and there were the girls who aroused in him tormenting physical desires. In manuscript, Dreiser's sexual daydreams extend vaguely to many girls, but they center most often on Carrie Rutter and, to a lesser extent, on her sister Maud.[13]

Along with Myrtle, Carrie Rutter enters the "Dawn" manuscript

in chapter XXXIII, where Dreiser encountered them in May Calvert's class. In a paragraph describing his shyness in the presence of "perhaps thirty or forty [girls] who here met my eyes,"[14] Dreiser analyzes the effect of his ideal, Myrtle, on him. Her "violet-blue eyes" and "pale waxy complexion" lifted him to "some etherial state, the substance of whose chemistry no man knows." Dreiser continues:

> . . . years later [Myrtle] married some simple tradesman whose name I have forgotten. Then there was Carrie Rutter, tawny of hair as a Norse, whose full brown eyes and rounded chin and heavy, shapely neck were richly sensuous—or I deemed them so. She sat some six or seven rows from me and I spent hours and hours looking at her, dreaming of the delights which her beauty suggested.

So Dreiser ends the paragraph with Myrtle and Carrie, each calling forth antipodal sides of his youthful desire. As he develops the two figures over the course of three chapters, the asexual pull toward Myrtle is treated seriously but with an ironic distance that never enters into his response to Carrie. Looking back, he sees Myrtle, for all his adolescent mooning over her, as "a veritable mouse of a girl." In contrast, Carrie Rutter unites for Dreiser the poetry of youth and real sexual vitality, a combination that he often advocated as a true ideal. Of course, this blend of young innocence and physical attraction is a major part of Carrie Meeber's appeal for Drouet and Hurstwood.

A comparison of the Myrtle/Carrie section of manuscript chapter XXXIII of "Dawn" with the final version in chapter 36 of the printed text reveals a pattern of revision that will remain constant in the more complicated revisions of subsequent chapters. The paragraph in chapter 36 reads:

> And yet, out of perhaps thirty or forty who here met my eyes, many of them in the same room with me, and whom I came to know and in other cases to admire at a distance, four or five immediately stood out as of definite import for me. Augusta Phillipson, a Jewess, black-haired, brown-cheeked, friendly, daring, hoyden; Myrtle Trego, whose face and eyes—violet-blue eyes and of a pale complexion—sent a thrill of mingled delight and misery through me every time I looked at her; "Cad" Tuttle, tawny of hair as a Norse, whose full brown eyes and rounded chin and heavy, shapely neck, were richly sensuous; her sister Maud, soft and plump and blonde, the type sure to be fat at forty; Berta Boone, dark as jet her

hair and eyes, and with a slim, waspish figure. And then my teacher, May Calvert, plump, rosy, fair-haired, a type of robust beauty, and as intelligent as the Middle West of this period (no more), and as lovely as the cornflowers that grew in such profusion here in the spring. (p. 194)

The changes here are substantial, and in relation to Carrie Rutter they take three forms. First, Carrie Rutter has become "Cad" Tuttle —a change that, as I shall show, provides a significant link to the text of *Sister Carrie*. Secondly, there is the outright cutting of sentences depicting Dreiser's special desire for Carrie; here she no longer functions as a counterpart to Myrtle throughout a complete paragraph but is cut back to one descriptive clause buried among others. Finally, Dreiser rearranges the materials of his manuscript chapter, making Carrie (or "Cad") part of a catalogue of girls—and in this case he also includes his teacher for good measure—that arouse him. This tripartite pattern of revision remains Dreiser's basic tool for the metamorphosis of Carrie Rutter into the less conspicuous "Cad" Tuttle of *Dawn*.

The next mention of "Cad" and Myrtle is in chapter 40 of *Dawn*. There Dreiser contrasts his infatuation for Myrtle with "perturbations of a somewhat different nature" (p. 213). Dreiser's purpose is to question the moralistic dualism that distinguishes between "love" and sex, the spirit and the body. After two pages in which he tries to capture the "dawn-like delicacy" (p. 212) (and the inevitable futility) of his love for Myrtle, he lists his profane loves in six sentences:

There was "Cad" Tuttle, a warm, vital beauty who moved me to such rash, sensual thoughts in connection with herself as to cause my confessor to caution me in regard to mortal sins of the flesh that dragged one to hell. And her sister Maud, shorter and heavier, but scarcely less beautiful. And Nata Weyler, whose full pink lips and swimming eyes suggested what fleshly languors! And Gusta Phillipson, a curly-haired Jewess, who once chased me around a lilac bush to kiss me. There were so many. I think I dreamed constantly of their hidden physical lines. (p. 213)

Most of the Myrtle material in the paragraphs leading to these sentences is not in manuscript chapter XXXIX. Instead, there is a briefer introduction to Myrtle, after which Dreiser leads into the following paragraph, the original version of the six sentences that appear in chapter 40:

In the school room for instance there were many others who affected

me in different ways—but not just this way. Carrie Rutter was one whose heavy corn colored hair and cream and rose complexion laid upon a slightly heavy and sensuous face and neck moved me to thoughts which my monthly Catholic confessor told me were evil—mortal sins. Her sister Maud, shorter and heavier but no less beautiful appealed to me in the same way. I caught glimpses of her ankles at times—the calves of her legs in the school room and as she danced accross the lawn—and then—I think I dreamed now constantly of the probable physical lines of one beautiful girl or another—and there were so many. The joy of my future life seemed to depend almost entirely on what arms might enfold me, what lips I might kiss, what graceful torsos and legs I might eventually embrace and caress. I was ashamed to speak of these things almost to anyone—to Ed, my brother or to Harry Croxton who not long after became my boon [companion] as well as Eds. "Mick" McConnell would frequently suggest how marvellous it would be to see Carrie Rutters legs. . . .

The final text has a conciseness missing here, but the unrevised passage highlights the special place Carrie and Maud Rutter originally held in Dreiser's narrative. Simply put, they functioned as the prime catalysts for his young sexual longings, a rite not shared except in the most general way by the "so many."

The cutting back of this passage to the six sentences remaining in the printed text is only one example of the extent to which Dreiser's changes affected Carrie's place in *Dawn*. Carrie originally served as the counterpart to Myrtle; but by the time of the holograph revisions of the typescript in the post-1919 period, Carrie Rutter (as "Cad" Tuttle) has assumed the minor role she retains in *Dawn*. She and her sister there share the spotlight with the original "others" who are finally specified as concretely as were Carrie and Maud. The effect of these revisions is to shift the emphasis in *Dawn* more fully in the direction of Myrtle who, in fact, becomes the focal point of the sequence.

The final text reduces Carrie's part in obtaining for Dreiser an invitation to the Halloween party which is the climax of these chapters: in manuscript, he was asked because of "Carrie Rutter whose eyes had not been unaware of my glances." Dreiser also cut his pre-party meditations on the Rutter sisters. Stirred by rumors of the "games" played at such parties, Dreiser remembers that

Even in the face of the less material thoughts I described in connection

with Myrtle Weimar [I thought of] Carrie Rutters full torso, Maud Rutters swelling hips and rythmic stride. . . . I thought of them and how, if I only had the chance and the courage, I should love to hold Carrie Rutter close and kiss her full mouth too, and dream into her milky blue sensuous eyes.

Again, in manuscript Dreiser dreams of the "others," but he reserves this sort of detailed sensual contemplation for the Rutter sisters, especially Carrie.

In summary: of the Carrie sections in manuscript chapter XXXIX—including the sequence in which Carrie and Maud serve as sexual alternatives to the idealized Myrtle, the sentence hinting that Carrie reciprocated Dreiser's feelings and secured him a party invitation, and the passages of sexual fantasy—only one sentence on "Cad" Tuttle survives in the printed chapter 40. It is as if Dreiser realized as he came closer to the published text that he had written a book about a sister Carrie; and that he had chosen to clothe that Carrie in a cloak of mystery that he would have to discard if Carrie Rutter were exposed to public scrutiny.

Chapter 41 of *Dawn* traces Dreiser's experience at the party; and it completes the Carrie-Myrtle episode. This party and its major event —the "post office" game—held great symbolic weight for Dreiser as an index to his early progress into sexual activity. In *Dawn* he speaks of the occasion in no uncertain terms:

I have been in many, many trying situations in my life; my spirit has been perturbed by anticipations of delight or pain that have not always materialized; but the clarity and vividness of this particular evening remain unmodified. (p. 218)

The party dramatizes the shy, awkward, shame-filled image of himself that Dreiser chose to portray. Naturally, "Cad" and Maud are the two who most clearly bring out this side of the young man. Even in the printed text, it is "Cad" who first tries to encourage him to come out of his shell. As he sits among the group in a state "nearing coma," "Cad" says: " 'Isn't it fun, Theo? Aren't you glad to be here?' But this from her red mouth and smiling eyes reduced me to sheer idiocy. If I said anything, it was stuttered, I am sure, for in such crises as this stammering usually descended upon me" (p. 216).

In general, at this stage Dreiser removed those manuscript lines

from the typescript in which the Rutter sisters openly encouraged him to pursue them. One example:

> Once Maud Rutter, in exchanging seats with some one came over and sat by me, smiling in an encouraging way but as before I could think of almost nothing to say Another time Carrie Rutter smiled at me in an inviting way accross the room and I thrilled at her beauty but I had no courage to go and talk to her

Though the exclusion of such lines continues in the vein of earlier emendations, unlike his work on previous chapters, Dreiser no longer felt the need drastically to reduce Carrie's and Maud's places in the text. This is partly due to his growing sense of security with the "Cad" disguise; for by this chapter in the typescript, Dreiser had sufficiently written Carrie out of the original manuscript version so that "Cad" could assume a more prominent place in the story. Eventually he would change Rutter (did it echo too neatly that other German surname, Meeber?) to Tuttle. However, with the exception of the name changes and certain key cuts that I shall discuss, Dreiser retained much of the important "post office" scene as he had it in manuscript, complete with Carrie's and Maud's parts in it.

Dreiser used two pages in the published *Dawn* (218–219) to stage his four encounters in the "post office"—with Gusta, "Cad," Maud, and Myrtle, in that order. The fact that, more nearly than most, these pages survived intact from manuscript to final text attests to Dreiser's unwavering allegiance to their importance in the design of his early years. Certainly, they capture with warmth, sympathy, and humor the tensions and absurdities of adolescent sexuality; and they are among the finest pages in *Dawn*. Since the essentials of this section remained constant, I will quote from manuscript, leaving closer textual analysis to readers interested in comparing the two versions.

The first girl to call Dreiser for a "letter" is Gusta Phillipson: "I did not yearn for her as I did over some of the others," Dreiser states. Although she kissed him, Dreiser mainly recalls her "poor Theo," and her motherly concern which moved him to the point of tears. But for all her good intentions, Gusta simply froze him into the passive, asexual stance in which she found him.

When Gusta left, his real problems began, for he must now call someone and give a letter of his own. "With a fainting heart," he

thought of Myrtle, "but I did not have the courage to send for her." The passage that follows shows the masterly combination of rousseauean ironic distance, self-absorption, and mock-seriousness that distinguishes much of *Dawn*. Since the "mere thought [of Myrtle] made me dizzy . . . I compromised on Carrie Rutter":

The moment I had done so I was almost sick with grief. This fullsome debonair beauty came, redolent of some faint perfume and smiling—a town belle of the most engaging type and I extended my arms—cold because of the amazing nature of my courage

"Your not so backward after all, are you", she said as she put her full pink lips to mine.

I thrilled from head to toe for a word of commendation from her was much, though in the midst of this honeyed delight I was thinking of Myrtle. . . . I felt myself to be a fool and yet coming out also to be something of a beau. . . .

Unlike Gusta and Myrtle, Carrie's main asset is her ability to put him temporarily in touch with his natural instincts, to release the energies repressed by conventional sanctions—just as Carrie Meeber is able to affect Hurstwood. Beyond stylistic changes, the major difference between this and the published text lies not so much in Dreiser's response to Carrie/"Cad" as in the toning down of his own intense feeling of triumph.

The next girl to call him is, predictably, Maud:

I think Maud Rutter was fond of me, though such a fool was I—I could not bring myself to take any advantage of the soft smiles and vague glances she occasionally cast in my direction. I put my arms around her, trembling with excitement as I had been in each instance thus far and kissed her warm mouth. She yeilded in such a willing way that I knew I was at liberty to take more than one but again my courage failed me, & defeated & chagrinned I was about to go out when I recalled that it was my duty to stay & call another

While his fears prevented him from continuing with Maud, the two sisters had worked him to such a pitch of excitement that he mustered the courage to kiss "[Maud's] warm mouth"—a signal achievement, given his fears at that age. Moreover, their influence enabled him to blurt out Myrtle's name after Maud left.

Myrtle naturally proved to be a disappointment. Unlike the Rutters, who "yeilded in such a willing way," Myrtle was as fearful of

her emotions as he was of his. Face to face, he realized that his ideal was" a veritable mouse of a girl." In a moment that, in the telling, is a blend of rich comedy and tenderness, the young boy confronted Myrtle at the door:

> . . . I stood limp & choking with fright. My throat dry, my body numb—I tried to say something but no sound came She drew very close and the nature of the situation compelled me to lean forward and kiss her but I could not clasp her close—could no more than lay my hands on her arms. I trembled so violently that I think she must have noticed. As I bent to kiss her her head seemed to slip shyly into her arm and only her cheek was exposed Even so, it seemed like the surface of the Caaba—that gate to paradise. I hurried out, weak & voiceless. [Caaba: generally spelled Kaaba, the principal shrine of Islam]

Myrtle immediately called in a girl friend, and, tongue-in-cheek, Dreiser notes, "She was not a boys' girl—that was plain." On this turn of events, he concludes his "post office" drama.

For all the self-irony present in this encounter with Myrtle, Dreiser had a serious point to make. His backwardness was a product of inexperience, but it also highlights a major theme of *Dawn*, a thesis that took on dark implications in *An American Tragedy*: the ill effects of a repressive society that compels youth to deny its natural impulses.

After the party, the boy felt a vague shame at his failure of nerve; but the memory of his four adventures raised his spirits somewhat. In particular, the Rutter sisters, by offering him his earliest initiation into the mystery of sex, held a special place in his history. Carrie and Maud provided a brief interlude to his young sexual inhibitions; unlike Myrtle, they met his eager expectations with their charms. And though he could not overcome his fear at the time, Carrie and Maud served, like Wordsworth's poetry, as a source of emotions to be recollected in tranquillity. In reverie, he could imagine performing what he could barely think in fact: "I swung and dreamed, the feel of Carrie Rutter's arms—the fragrance of her personality, and of Maud Rutter's coming back." Of Gusta he had little to remember; and "my one Myrtle kiss was like a breath of paradise" is the most concrete line on Myrtle in manuscript. "But, oh the beauty of the succeeding moods and memories when in days later I thought on these things, and how plump Maud Rutter had seemed, and how warm and sensuous Carrie."

"How warm and sensuous Carrie"—and how strange to come upon that phrase in the manuscript "Dawn"! What, after all, does this Carrie have to do with the making of "Sister Carrie"? What does Carrie Rutter tell us about Dreiser as a novelist? Of the habits of mind and composition that make him one of the most enigmatic of writers? The cluster of private imagery and sources connected with the naming of his first novel underscores the problems of penetrating the web of Dreiser's work.

It is possible, however, to venture a few conclusions about the "Dawn" Carrie's relation to *Sister Carrie*. First, the obvious: Dreiser chose to disguise her as "Cad" Tuttle after he had committed himself to the fable of "Sister Carrie's" mystic formulation. Can we surmise, then, that he was thinking of Carrie Rutter when he began his tale of a midwestern girl—a sister, a dreamer like himself, filled with unconventional appetites and with illusions about life—who, despite the world's judgments, retains an essential innocence? If we review the range of connotations that "sister" had for Dreiser by 1899, the answer becomes problematic. In effect, the solution comes down to the degree of *conscious* intent one is willing to ascribe to the choice of "Carrie" in the title. There is, however, some external evidence that lends weight to the idea that Dreiser had Carrie Rutter in mind in 1899.

In the first place, Carrie Rutter was part of Dreiser's imaginative background for many years. Her part in the growth of his sexual awareness—and in the party that symbolized his period of arrested development—during the Warsaw years is referred to, in modified form, in two other books: *The "Genius"* and *A Hoosier Holiday* (1916).

In his autobiographical novel *The "Genius,"* Dreiser takes thirty pages to depict the period of his life that covers nearly six hundred pages in *Dawn*. Yet the "post office" scene is given as much space in the novel as in the autobiography. Because Eugene Witla is something of a fanciful alter-ego for Dreiser, chapter II of the novel finds him "semi-defiant"[15] toward his adolescent ideal, Stella Appleton, the Myrtle of *The "Genius."* The party and the game present Witla as uneasy but in control of his half-understood emotions; he is deprived of success only because of his naïveté. The Dreiser of *Dawn*—the weak-kneed, oafish boy for whom the very thought of physical contact caused "an intense nervous depression" (p. 215)—has no place in

the novel. Naturally, the Rutters' fictional counterparts do not figure prominently in this context. Given this scheme, Dreiser alters the "post office" game so that Stella performs the part he reserved for himself in *Dawn*. After she is called into the "post office," she must decide whom to call.

> . . . Stella, who was caught before Eugene, was under compulsion to call someone to kiss. Her first thought was of him, but on account of the frankness of the deed, and because there was a lurking fear in her of his eagerness, the name she felt impelled to speak was Harvey Rutter. (p. 27)

So Stella, who acts the role that young Dreiser plays opposite to Myrtle in *Dawn*, also compromises and calls in a Rutter. She is "impelled to speak" his name just as Dreiser, at the corresponding moment in *Dawn*, unaccountably lets Carrie Rutter's name slip from his tongue. This suggests that, though Dreiser's picture of himself as artist-genius obscures the Rutter sisters' real function in his life, they remain important enough to receive a hidden tribute. For with Harvey Rutter, Witla's successful rival for Stella's favors, Dreiser in effect creates a Rutter "brother" who possesses the natural traits of Carrie and Maud Rutter.

In *A Hoosier Holiday*, Dreiser's return to Warsaw rekindles memories of his earliest contacts with the girls of the town. Dreiser's intention here is not to write a detailed account of his youth but to give a general impression of the Indiana of his childhood memories as compared to his findings thirty years later. It is Dreiser's version of *Life on the Mississippi*. Because of the picaresque structure of the genre, the "post office" party gets a brief but fond one-page notice. Not surprisingly, Dreiser mentions Maud Rutter[16] but neither "Cad" nor Carrie makes an appearance. The significant point, however, is that the party and at least one Rutter are part of every account Dreiser wrote of those years.

Perhaps the most telling link between Carrie Rutter, "Cad" Rutter/Tuttle, and Carrie Meeber appears in the text of *Sister Carrie*. In the novel, the complexity of Carrie's role as a sister stems from her perpetually changing identity as a woman. This is mirrored in the many names she assumes in the book, each corresponding to a new stage in her development: Caroline Meeber, Sister Carrie, Maggie, Carrie Madenda, Mrs. Drouet, Mrs. Hurstwood, Mrs. Wheeler; and she is

Laura on stage and, as an unknown chorus girl, she is called "Miss Mason." But with the exception of "Carrie," she responds most often and most naturally to "Cad," the name Drouet uses for her at least a dozen times in the novel. " 'Where are you, Cad?' he said, using a pet name he had given her" (p. 115). Did Dreiser, like his Drouet addressing Carrie Meeber, give Carrie Rutter that pet name simply as a sign of affection? If so, it is strange that he should delete "Carrie" so deliberately and so completely from three chapters of *Dawn*.

"Carrie-Cad" Meeber, "Carrie-Cad" Rutter, "Carrie-Cad" Tuttle: to this litany of names, one more should be added. It is a name that had significance for Dreiser during the summer of 1899. The Dreisers spent that summer in Maumee, Ohio, as the guests of the Arthur Henrys. The two couples shared a house together for what seemed to Dreiser an idyllic interlude in his unsettled life. They ate, exercised, and sang together; and he and Arthur Henry talked, wrote, and planned their future as famous authors. Henry started a novel, *A Princess of Arcady*, and it was he who urged Dreiser to begin one so that they could stimulate and criticize each other's work. When Dreiser returned to New York in September, Arthur Henry was with him, and Dreiser says it was "to please him [that I] wrote down a title at random—*Sister Carrie*." The evidence of the "Dawn" manuscript suggests the title was not as random as Dreiser wanted us to believe. At the least, Carrie Rutter existed somewhere in Dreiser's subconscious memory in 1899. Could she have been brought to the surface—via her sister Maud—after Dreiser had spent the previous months with Arthur and *Maude* Henry? For all the commentary on Arthur Henry's role in the making of *Sister Carrie*, his most striking contribution may have gone unnoticed. And Dreiser himself could have left a key to the riddle of the naming of "Sister Carrie": it was done, he said, "to please" Arthur Henry.

The idea is provocative. But we must stop somewhere and here, on the threshold of associative memory, seems as good a place as any. For at this point, however far we are from the assumption that Dreiser's title expresses his desire to write a Balzacian novel about his sister Emma, we begin to tap the deepest layers of the creative imagination. And then, after all, we are not far from Dreiser's version of the origins of "Sister Carrie."

# NOTES

1. Letter to H. L. Mencken, May 13, 1916. *Letters of Theodore Dreiser*, ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), I, 213. Since I am here concerned with the *title* of the book *Sister Carrie*, and the principal character of the novel, the name appears in italic print only when the book is meant (except in quoted matter). Otherwise, the name is in roman type, with or without quotation marks.
2. Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (New York, 1900), p. 1. All subsequent citations of *Sister Carrie* are from this edition.
3. Donald Pizer, *The Novels of Theodore Dreiser* (Minneapolis, 1976), p. 44.
4. Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie*, ed. Donald Pizer (New York, 1970), p. 376n.
5. Ellen Moers, "The Finesse of Dreiser," *The American Scholar*, 33 (1963), 109.
6. Quoted in Vera Dreiser, *My Uncle Theodore* (New York, 1976), p. 86. Paul, for reasons that are not material here, preferred to spell his last name Dresser.
7. Vera Dreiser, p. 86.
8. Vera Dreiser, p. 88.
9. Theodore Dreiser, *A Book about Myself* (New York, 1922), p. 241. All subsequent citations of *A Book about Myself* are from this edition.
10. Theodore Dreiser, *Letters* (ed. Elias), I, 211.
11. W. A. Swanberg, *Dreiser* (New York, 1965), p. 375.
12. Theodore Dreiser, *A History of Myself: Dawn* (New York, 1931), p. 209. All subsequent citations of *Dawn* are from this edition.
13. The Warsaw school records for these years show that three Rutter sisters and one son attended the city's 3rd Ward classes along with the Dreiser children. I wish to express my thanks to the Warsaw Historical Society for allowing me to examine these documents.
14. Permission to quote from the manuscript "Dawn" has been kindly granted by the University of Indiana, Bloomington.
15. Theodore Dreiser, *The "Genius"* (New York, 1915), p. 27. All subsequent citations of *The "Genius"* are from this edition.
16. Theodore Dreiser, *A Hoosier Holiday* (New York, 1916), p. 323.

# Dreiser and Rose White

YOSHINOBU HAKUTANI*

IT is commonly recognized that the failure of Theodore Dreiser's first marriage was caused by the incompatibility of two fundamentally different temperaments. Sallie (Sara Osborne) White was a quiet, passionate woman who believed in the sanctity of marriage. Dreiser, who called himself a "varietist," had the qualities of Don Juan and could not resist the beauty of woman wherever he found it. While Sallie, a Methodist from the rustic Missouri setting, was conventional, Dreiser was an iconoclast who had left the church by the time he met her. Vera Dreiser, Dreiser's niece, recalling the courtship of Dreiser and Sallie, writes: "Their mating was an attraction of opposites."[1] Dreiser himself confesses that his marriage, after "the first flare of love had thinned down to the pale flame of duty. Need anything more be said? The first law of convention had been obeyed, whereas the governing forces of temperament had been overridden —and with what results eventually you may well suspect."[2]

No matter how hard Dreiser tried to make the marriage work, it was thus doomed from the beginning. What is interesting is the fact that Dreiser used this experience in several of his writings. It appears in *A Book about Myself*, in which Sallie White is referred to as Miss W——. Angela Blue in *The "Genius,"* an autobiographical novel, is an amazingly accurate picture of Sallie White. In each case the marriage is described as ill-fated, for Dreiser himself sought the comfort of a loving wife and at the same time needed the freedom that accompanied the life of an artist. In both *A Book about Myself* and *The "Genius,"* the protagonist confesses his irresistible attraction to other women even at the early stage of his courtship. And it has come to be accepted that one of these women in each book represents the sister of his fiancée.

Rose White, Sallie's sister, thus served as the prototype of an enchantress to whom the hero is unduly allured. In *A Book about Myself*, Rose is alluded to merely as Miss W——'s sister, while in *The*

* Professor of English, Kent State University.

"*Genius*" she is called "Marietta."[3] Yet in another of Dreiser's stories, "Rella" in *A Gallery of Women*, she figures as the niece of the protagonist's wife.[4] The typescript of "Rella" was originally entitled "Nadine," but this title was later changed to what appears to be "Rose," written in pencil. Then the penciled mark is scratched out and the final title, "Rella," is in Dreiser's handwriting.[5]

Whether or not Dreiser at one time thought seriously of entitling the portrait "Rose" is hard to determine, but the characters and events in the story itself clearly indicate that Rella was, indeed, based upon Rose White. Dreiser's alteration of Rella from a sister to a niece must have been made in consideration of the fact that Rose White had already served as the prototype of a heroine in two of his previous works and also that Rose White was still living. Aside from this nominal change, the story of Rella has many parallels with the life of Rose. Dreiser begins the tale by depicting the Ozarks, "a backwoods state such as Arkansas,"[6] where Rella grew up; Rose White was from a Missouri farm.[7] Rella's father, Samuel Howdershell, is a successful farmer and politician of sorts, just as was Rose's father, Arch White. Dreiser was so impressed with this man's integrity and humaneness that he wrote a long article about him while he was still a free-lance magazine writer at the turn of the century. In it Arch White, his father-in-law, is likened to Dreiser's favorite politician, William Jennings Bryan. Much like Rella's father, Arch White is characterized by Dreiser as a man who is "still strong in the councils of his people and rich in the accumulated interests of a lifetime."[8] In "Rella," our hero falls in love with his wife's niece when he and his wife pay a visit to her relatives in the Ozarks. The occasion is similar to the visit that Dreiser and Sallie paid the White family in the Missouri countryside during which he developed a secret passion for Rose White.

What unites all these versions of the hero's illicit passion is Dreiser's characterization of the heroine. In "Rella," Dreiser provides these remarks early in the story:

> . . . Once having seen her I could scarcely turn my eyes from her as she moved here and there, running errands to the store or from one to another of her relatives, and finally, and gayly, setting the evening table for her grandmother. Truly, I thought, here is one who is startlingly beautiful. And so unusual—and so wholly uninformed. . . . What a fool, to tie my-

self down in this way! Would I never be free again? Here was this laughing, happy, beautiful creature who but for this early mistake might now be mine. (*Gallery*, pp. 492–494)

In a similar fashion, Dreiser describes Eugene Witla's attraction to Marietta early in *The "Genius"*:

The carryall rattled down the pebble road to the left of the lawn and stopped at the garden gate. Marietta came out. Marietta was twenty-two years old, and as gay and joyous as her elder sister Angela was sober and in a way morbid. Light souled as a kitten, looking always on the bright side of things, she made hosts of friends everywhere she went, having a perfect swarm of lovers who wrote her eager notes, but whom she rebuffed with good natured, sympathetic simplicity. Here on this farm there was not supposed to be so much opportunity for social life as in town, but beaux made their way here on one pretext and another. Marietta was the magnet, and in the world of gaiety which she created Angela shared.[9]

Despite these close parallels in setting and characterization, Dreiser seems to have made deliberate efforts to conceal Rose's identity. The changes Dreiser made in minor details can be traced in typescript versions of "Rella." An early typescript, for instance, contains the following passage referring to the narrator of the story:

At the same time, being young, I could not but hope against hope. After all I was not the worst placed person in the world. I had just had a novel accepted. I was writing short stories and articles and getting them published. (Box 17, "Rella" folder 1)

This may recall Dreiser's feeling about himself and the status of his profession around June of 1900, when he was informed by Walter Page, junior partner in Doubleday, Page, and Company, that his first novel, *Sister Carrie*, had been accepted for publication. It is also true that around the same time Dreiser was writing numerous articles and several short stories and having them published.[10] To obscure such factual information about himself, Dreiser altered the passage to read in another typescript (with manuscript alterations):

However, being young, I could not hope against hope. Was I, therefore, I asked myself the worst person in the world[?] I had just had a play accepted and was writing short stories, and articles, and getting them published, finding myself as it were. (Box 17, "Rella" folder 3)

The passage above was once more revised in the *Gallery* version:

"However, being young, I could not but hope against hope. I had just had a play accepted and was writing poems and stories and getting them published—finding myself, as it were. (p. 483)

In keeping with such a detail as was given in the *Gallery* version, Dreiser finally presented "Rella" as the confession of a poet friend of his. Dreiser's foreword is attached to the printed text:

This story, innately truthful and self-revealing, was outlined to me one evening in Greenwich Village many years ago by an American poet who has since died; and before him by his wife and the girl to whom he referred. Since no names appear, and his quondam fame, as well as name, has dimmed with time, there can be, to me, no conceivable reason why the sketchy transcript I made of it then should not now be enlarged upon according to the mood in which he related it to me.

—THE AUTHOR
(*Gallery*, p. 480)

In what may have been the original typescript, however, the sheet on which this foreword appears also has a preface by Dreiser:

The following confession made to me by an architect who attained to no little distinction before his death presents so charming a picture of eager seeking girlhood outlined against a recessive, brooding, and conventionally fearsome nature not adequate to the opourtunity [sic] offered that I venture to include it among these pictures as a study of a woman. I cannot see how a certain type of dreamy, playful and yet urgent and seeking girl could be more adequately presented. I have tried to preserve as near as possible narrators attitude toward himself and life. (Box 17, "Rella" folder 1)

Above this prelude there is a short query, in pencil, which Dreiser clearly intended for William Lengel, his editor and secretary.[11] The question was put in this way:

Do you think the forgoing should be told as a direct confession—or with some such nominal subterfuge as this [?] (Box 17, "Rella" folder 1)

The more Dreiser tried to conceal himself, the more he revealed Rose's identity. Since the penciled preface was discarded, it is obvious that Dreiser as the author of the story opted for a direct confession with a simpler foreword. Most importantly, the answer to Dreiser's

query also suggests that no matter what changes Dreiser thought he could make in his own identity, he could not and should not have interfered with the initial characterization of the heroine. After all, Rella is "a certain type of dreamy, playful and yet urgent and seeking girl," just as Rose White was. And whatever subterfuges a writer like Dreiser might devise to give the story an impersonal air, a ring of truth in the story could only come from fact itself. Although *A Gallery of Women* is often considered semifictional, "Rella" is clearly more factual than fictional, an observation that supports Dreiser's contention that *A Gallery of Women* is not fiction but "direct painting from life."[12]

## NOTES

1. Vera Dreiser, *My Uncle Theodore* (New York, 1976), p. 103.
2. Dreiser, *A Book about Myself* (New York, 1922), p. 502.
3. In *The "Genius,"* Eugene and Angela are married at Buffalo in a simple ceremony attended only by Marietta; in real life the wedding took place in Washington, D.C., unattended by any of their relatives except for Rose White.
4. "Rella" was first published in *International-Cosmopolitan*, 84 (April 1928), 36–39, 199–204.
5. See Box 17, the Dreiser Collection.
6. Dreiser, "Rella," *A Gallery of Women*, 2 vols. (New York, 1929), p. 481.
7. In *The "Genius,"* the two sisters, Angela and Marietta, come from a small rural community called Blackwood, Wisconsin.
8. See Dreiser, "A True Patriarch: A Study from Life," *McClure's*, 18 (December 1901), 136–144. Reprinted as "A True Patriarch" with many stylistic alterations in *Twelve Men* (New York, 1919).
9. Dreiser, *The "Genius"* (New York, 1915 [1923]), p. 116.
10. Between his resignation from the editorship of *Ev'ry Month* in September 1897 and the publication of *Sister Carrie* in November 1900, Dreiser wrote more than 120 pieces which appeared in various magazines.
11. The sheet on which all these remarks are added is preceded by Dreiser's business letter to William Lengel, written by hand, October 16, 1928; these materials were originally in Lengel's possession.
12. See Dreiser's letter of July 20, 1929, to O. Kyllmann in the Dreiser Collection.

# *Nicholas Blood* and *Sister Carrie*

JAMES L. W. WEST III*

A COMMENT in the March 1902 issue of *The Bookman* has brought to light some new information about the publication history of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*; but as usual with Dreiser's first novel, more questions are raised than are answered. The brief piece, entitled "Strange Adventures of Authorship," appears on first reading to have been based by its unnamed author on an interview with Dreiser and Arthur Henry. The Dreiser/Henry background is familiar: the two men originally became friends in March 1894 while both were working (Dreiser very briefly) for the *Toledo Blade*. Dreiser moved on to New York City late in 1894, and Henry eventually joined him there in the fall of 1899. In the months that followed Dreiser and Henry worked as free-lance writers, collaborating on several non-fiction magazine pieces. Henry also helped Dreiser revise and cut *Sister Carrie* in 1899 and 1900. The first printing of the novel, in fact, bore a highly complimentary dedication to Henry.

The *Bookman* article, republished below for the first time since its original appearance, was divided into four long paragraphs—two dealing with Dreiser and two with Henry:

## Strange Adventures of Authorship

While the success *à grand tirage* of second-rate novels must always remain something of a mystery, the failure of a story of real merit to obtain a fair hearing is in some instances easier to understand. Here is a case in point. Somewhat more than a year ago a young writer in this city finished his first novel. In some ways it was a rather remarkable first novel, depicting the seamy side of life with an uncommon degree of sombre power, and handling certain aspects of the sex problem with the frank fearlessness which is the rightful privilege of a high order of talent. The young writer took his story to a well-known publishing house, where two readers for the firm, both of them authors of successful novels, reported enthusiastically in its favour. It was then read by a younger member of the firm, and the result was a flattering letter of acceptance. Shortly afterward the senior

* Associate Professor of English, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

member of the firm, who had meanwhile returned from abroad, took the manuscript home one evening and gave it to his wife to read. Just what happened next it is difficult to discover, but the fate of the book seems to have been sealed from this time forth. It was eventually published, in unpretentious garb and under a rather colourless title, in an edition just large enough to cover expenses, and, with few exceptions, it was not sent to the papers for review. The public never really had a fair chance to pass judgment upon it; but the author must since have drawn some comfort from the fact that the English edition, brought out by an enterprising London publisher, has met with cordial appreciation from widely different sources. The American publisher has since been heard to say that he felt from the beginning that the book was bound to succeed sooner or later, and preferred that the stigma of its success should not rest upon his house.

Although Mr. Arthur Henry, whose unique volume, *An Island Cabin*, is soon to be published, is not the young author referred to in the foregoing paragraph, he is in a position to sympathise with him, since he went through a similar and much more amusing experience about a decade ago. Mr. Henry is the product of a small Illinois village of an unpronounceable name. As a child he was delicate and spent his early years on a farm under close maternal supervision, his education being limited to exactly three months in a public school. As a consequence he has retained the fresh outlook, the boyish exuberance, the joyous irresponsibility of his fourteenth year—an irresponsibility which has survived his rough-and-tumble experiences in an Omaha dry-goods store, and later his apprenticeship on the Chicago *Daily News*, where the only encouragement he received was from Eugene Field, whose clear insight discovered the evidence of dormant talent. Later he drifted to New York and wrote his first novel. It was accepted and the plates cast, when here again the head of the firm returned and interfered. Mr. Henry purchased his plates, found another publisher, and arranged to have the whole edition sent to the American News Company or some similar house for distribution. Then with that characteristic spirit of boyish elation, he could not rest until he had returned home and told the story of his triumph to the appreciative home circle. It was just eight years before it occurred to Mr. Henry to come back to New York and make inquiries about his book. He then learned that his novel, although duly shipped from the printers, had never reached the point of distribution, but had mysteriously vanished *in transitu*. Among his other youthful traits is Mr. Henry's tendency to remember kindly those who at any time have been kind to him, and so it was the most natural thing in the world for

him to look up the old lady with whom he had boarded in former years. After greeting him effusively, his former landlady inquired whether he was ever going to remove all those big packing cases which still encumbered her basement. Somewhat bewildered, he investigated, and of course discovered the whole edition of the missing novel in such an advanced state of mildew as to destroy their usefulness for commercial purposes.

One of the many youthful dreams which have survived Mr. Henry's early youth is that of some time owning an island—a little island all his own, on which he could live a luxurious, Robinson Crusoe existence, untrammelled by any of those troublesome conventions and responsibilities which an unsympathetic world insists upon thrusting upon him. Last summer he learned that such islands were to be had for the taking, off the coast of Connecticut, and after a brief investigation found one to his taste. Here he erected an unpretentious little cabin and spent the summer in the company of a few congenial friends, making many naïve discoveries in the arts of fishing and boating, all duly recorded in his forthcoming volume. It matters not that the things he discovered were the common property of mankind long before the Carthaginians sailed the Mediterranean; they were none the less original discoveries with Mr. Henry. He found, for instance, that there was such a thing as a head wind—a wind which at times would perversely blow from the very point toward which he wished to sail. But his discovery went further than this; with the spirit of the true inventor he applied himself to a solution of the difficulty, and at last hit upon a method by which he could sail the boat in a zig-zag path against the wind. In other words, he rediscovered the art of tacking, and has described it quite minutely in a chapter of refreshing *naïveté* for the benefit of future boatmen.

In winter Mr. Henry lives in New York, where he shares an apartment with Theodore Dreiser, author of *Sister Carrie*. In this connection it is perhaps interesting to note that Mr. Dreiser's novel has recently been taken over from its former publishers by the J. S. Taylor Company [sic], and will be published this spring in more attractive form, and, let us hope, under a new and more significant title. Just at present its author is much too busy over a new novel to carry out the changes which he intends to make in *Sister Carrie*. Instances where a novelist has rewritten the closing chapters of a book are not numerous, and it is a question whether the result has ever been wholly satisfactory. Even Kipling, when he remod-

elled *The Light That Failed* to satisfy his literary conscience, plainly expressed his own sense of impotence when he wrote that there were wrongs which admit of no reparation, since they are "as remediless as bad work once put forward." Mr. Dreiser's case, however, is not quite analogous, since his proposed changes in *Sister Carrie* are almost wholly in the nature of amplification. As the story now stands, there are two men whose destinies are closely bound up in that of the heroine. There is still another man whose path crosses her own at the close of the book, but in an abortive manner, which leaves an impression of artistic incompleteness and faulty observation. It is this chapter which Mr. Dreiser has set himself to revise.[1]

This article is important for several reasons. The first section is obviously a thinly disguised account of the "suppression" of *Sister Carrie* by Doubleday, Page, and Company. The "two readers for the firm" are Frank Norris and Henry Lanier; the "younger member of the firm" is Walter Hines Page; the "senior member" is Frank Doubleday. This 1902 *Bookman* account is the earliest published version of what would become the *Sister Carrie* legend.[2] Its purpose was obviously to discredit Page and Doubleday and to stir up interest in a reprinting of *Sister Carrie*. (Only the most imperceptive reader would fail to make the connection between the unidentified novel in the first section of the article and *Sister Carrie* in the fourth section. The author of the piece even planted an obvious clue by mentioning the "colourless title" of the unnamed novel and then urging that *Sister Carrie* be republished "under a new and more significant title.") In this first account Mrs. Doubleday is already being cast as the probable villainess, and the favorable reception of the novel in England is already being emphasized. These two details will remain constant in later versions of the *Sister Carrie* story.

The second section of the *Bookman* article is quite intriguing. Dreiser scholars assumed for many years that Arthur Henry's first novel was *A Princess of Arcady*, also published by Doubleday, Page, and Company in 1900. Henry composed this novel during the same period that Dreiser was writing *Sister Carrie*, and Dreiser is supposed to have written the last chapter of *A Princess* for Henry.[3] But in the fall of 1973, Ellen Moers verified the authorship of an earlier Henry novel entitled *Nicholas Blood, Candidate*, first published in 1890, a full decade earlier.[4] Dreiserians were unaware of *Nicholas Blood* because Henry

apparently tried to keep the book a secret. Moers's synopsis of the novel reveals why he did so:

> Arthur Henry had every reason to conceal from Dreiser and a wider public of the late 1890s the existence of *Nicholas Blood, Candidate*, for it is a smoothly written piece of rabid anti-Negro propaganda; while Dreiser, as we know from a variety of sources, was from an early period markedly liberal in racial attitudes. Henry's title character is a bestial, drunken, degenerate, dangerous Black man, the candidate of the Negro community in a Memphis election. Henry's subtitle, "A Prophecy," refers to coming riots and revolution, a "Reign of Terror": "Sir, we have 8,000,000 children of the night among us . . . . They multiply while we sleep." The novel could well have been written to the order of some political interest, Northern or Southern, for its slight plot has to do with the visit to Memphis of a Northern businessman, who there unlearns the liberal attitudes of his native region and becomes convinced of the necessity to disenfranchise (and deport) the entire American Negro population. (p. 8)

Henry seems to have kept quiet about *Nicholas Blood* around his liberal friends; he apparently never showed Dreiser a copy of the book or even described its subject matter to him. Dreiser's ignorance of the novel is ironic, because the publication history of *Nicholas Blood* had an important influence on what happened to *Sister Carrie*.

The "first novel" by Henry mentioned in the *Bookman* piece is surely *Nicholas Blood*, but the problem is to decide how much of Henry's story to believe. The first part rings true: a publishing house in New York probably did set the type and cast the plates for *Nicholas Blood*; and at that point, the head of the company probably did return from a trip, read the novel, and refuse to publish it. Henry seems to have accepted this publisher's refusal, purchased the plates himself, and had the book printed and bound by another New York publisher, Oliver Dodd, whose name appears on the title page of the first printing. This much seems credible, but the rest of the *Bookman* account is highly suspect. Henry's tale that he waited eight years and then discovered the entire edition of *Nicholas Blood* in his former landlady's basement (in "an advanced state of mildew," no less) makes entertaining reading, but it is not borne out by bibliographical analysis of extant copies of the novel. What actually seems to have happened is that Henry was able to sell or distribute some copies of the 1890 Dodd impression in New York. These copies can be identified

by the black-letter imprint "Oliver Dodd, Publisher" on the title page and by a normal collation pattern of twelve gatherings in eights and a thirteenth in fours. Not all of these copies were sold, however, and so Henry seems to have had the remaining copies sent to Chicago. There, in 1892, he had the publisher F. J. Schulte and Company perform some surgery on the books. The Dodd title leaves were cancelled, and three new leaves (six pages) were tipped in at the fronts of the books. These new leaves, on glossy coated paper, contain the Schulte title page and copyright page, together with a petulant "Preface to Second Edition" in which Henry attempts to answer criticisms of his book. The Schulte copies therefore do not constitute a new edition or even a new printing of *Nicholas Blood* but are instead simply a second issue of the first impression. The point is that Henry had to do some very fancy footwork to get his first novel printed, bound, and even minimally circulated.[5]

This information would deserve no more than a minor footnote in Dreiser scholarship were it not for the striking parallels between what happened to *Nicholas Blood* in 1890 and what befell *Sister Carrie* in 1900. Both books were first novels by young authors; both dealt with "tainted" material; both apparently ran into similar problems with a first publisher; neither was properly advertised or distributed; and the authors of both eventually bought the plates and had the novels issued by other publishers. Henry was Dreiser's closest friend and most trusted advisor all through the dispute with Doubleday, Page, and Company during the summer of 1900. In fact, Henry played a crucial role in the negotiations because Dreiser was in Missouri for nearly the entire summer. Dreiser made his decisions and plotted his strategy on the basis of Henry's letters to him from New York. Henry's advice was strong and insistent: "Hold Doubleday and Page to their agreement," he wrote on July 26th. "I have talked with Norris several times and I am convinced that this is the best thing for you to do."[6] In other letters Henry repeatedly urged Dreiser to dig in his heels and insist on fall publication. Dreiser, who had no experience in such matters, followed Henry's advice; he remained rigid and refused to compromise. The publishers finally gave in and rushed *Sister Carrie* into print by early November 1900.

Arthur Henry should therefore receive most of the credit for forcing Doubleday, Page, and Company to publish *Sister Carrie*; but

why did Henry insist so strongly on publication? This new knowledge about *Nicholas Blood* reveals at least one of his motives: Henry was determined that Dreiser should not repeat the mistake that he himself had made ten years earlier. Henry had backed away from a similar dispute with a publisher and had seen his own first novel fail. The same fate could not be permitted to befall *Sister Carrie*; Doubleday, Page, and Company must publish the book.

Even after the failure of the first printing of *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser continued to follow the course which Henry had mapped out ten years earlier. As we have seen, Henry acquired the plates of *Nicholas Blood* and persuaded Oliver Dodd to print the book; two years later, he engaged F. J. Schulte to alter the unsold copies of the Dodd impression for re-release. Dreiser, in a similar series of moves, convinced the New York publisher J. F. Taylor to buy the plates and unsold stock of *Sister Carrie* from Doubleday, Page, and Company. Taylor was supposed to reissue the novel but never did so. Dreiser therefore eventually acquired the plates and had *Sister Carrie* reprinted in 1907 by B. W. Dodge. In fact, Dreiser maintained control of the plates for the rest of his career, leasing them at various times to Harper, Boni and Liveright, Random House, and other publishers.

The third section of the *Bookman* article contains no significant new information for Dreiser scholars. It has long been known that Henry and Dreiser, together with Henry's future wife, Anna Mallon, and Dreiser's wife, Sara, spent time together during the summer of 1901 on an island off the shore of Connecticut. Henry based his book *An Island Cabin*[7] on the experience, and Dreiser later fell out with Henry in part over this published picture of the summer's events.

The fourth section of the article, though, contains some important statements about Dreiser's proposed revision of *Sister Carrie*. Students of the novel will recall that Dreiser changed the ending of the book in typescript. He was perhaps revising on his own instincts but was more likely prodded into making changes by Arthur Henry. In chapter XLIX of the manuscript, Dreiser had originally developed the Carrie-Ames relationship at considerable length and had suggested that Carrie might move on to Ames, the third man in her life after Drouet and Hurstwood. Later, in revising the typescript of the novel, Dreiser rewrote much of this chapter, shortening it and lessening the attraction between Carrie and Ames. At this same time, he added

a philosophical outburst at the end of the book in which he attempted to explain what had happened to Carrie's personality.[8] If we believe the *Bookman* account, it would appear that Dreiser had realized by 1902 that his revision had been a mistake. It follows that he wanted to undo that error by rewriting and "amplifying" the Carrie-Ames material.[9] But J. F. Taylor never reprinted *Sister Carrie*, and as a result Dreiser never followed through on this revision. When B. W. Dodge finally reprinted the book five years later, Dreiser seems either to have forgotten his proposed revision or no longer to have felt close enough to the novel to attempt it.

This reconstruction is plausible and attractive, but unfortunately it is untrue. In the first place, Dreiser was nowhere near New York City in the early months of 1902, and so it is unlikely that the *Bookman* article could have been based on an interview with him. Dreiser was instead living in quiet backwater towns like Bedford, Virginia, and Hinton, West Virginia, where he was attempting to regain his psychological equilibrium and compose *Jennie Gerhardt*. He was being backed financially by J. F. Taylor and was corresponding regularly with Taylor's associate Rutger B. Jewett. By examining the surviving letters from Jewett to Dreiser one can clear up most of the *Bookman* questions.[10]

Taylor did own the plates of *Sister Carrie*, but he was reluctant to reissue the book immediately. Instead he planned to wait until Dreiser had completed and published *Jennie Gerhardt*, which Taylor had under contract. Then he would reprint *Sister Carrie* as a follow-up to *Jennie*. Both Taylor and Jewett, however, wanted Dreiser to change the title of *Sister Carrie* and to rewrite the Carrie-Ames material. In several letters written during January and February 1902, Jewett repeatedly urged Dreiser to change his ending; Jewett's idea was that Carrie should show love or even suggest marriage to Ames, but that he should refuse her because of her "past."[11] One's suspicions are aroused: this sounds very much like parts of the *Bookman* article. Those suspicions are confirmed by the second paragraph of Jewett's letter to Dreiser dated March 21, 1902:

> The article in the Bookman was written by Cooper of the Commercial Advertiser. Your friend Robertson brought him in to see me and he talked very freely about Sister Carrie. He is very keen to strike a blow for the book wherever and whenever opportunity opens. The article on Arthur

Henry is by the same man but I do not know where he got his information, probably from Henry himself, for I believe he knows him. I do not know anything about Henry's new book, or where he plans to place it. I return the clipping to you.

Dreiser seems to have gotten hold of the March issue of *The Bookman* and read "Strange Adventures of Authorship." He clipped the piece and sent it to Jewett, asking who wrote the article and what sources he had used. Jewett answered openly and fully. Dreiser's friend "Robertson" was Morgan Robertson, a free-lance author who specialized in sea stories and who had contributed to *Ev'ry Month* when Dreiser had edited that magazine.[12] Robertson was an early and enthusiastic supporter of *Sister Carrie* who wanted to keep the book in the public eye.[13] "Cooper of the Commercial Advertiser" has not been identified. The *Advertiser* was a New York newspaper and so one assumes that Cooper was a reporter there, but beyond that his identity is a mystery.[14] The important thing, though, is that the statements in *The Bookman* about the Carrie-Ames material were not made by Dreiser. Rather, they were apparently planted by his publisher in an effort to stir up interest in a future reissue of *Sister Carrie*. If Taylor had indeed reprinted *Carrie* a year or so later, Dreiser might well have taken his publisher's advice and rewritten the Carrie-Ames material, but the impulse to do so would not have been his own.

The *Bookman* article, then, leads us to some new bits of information about *Sister Carrie*. Henry's influential advice to Dreiser in the Doubleday, Page dispute now appears to have been based on Henry's own misadventures with *Nicholas Blood* in 1890. And after Taylor took over *Sister Carrie*, he and Jewett tried to persuade Dreiser to revise the Carrie-Ames material (a wish seconded by many later critics of the novel), but Dreiser never did so. The history of *Sister Carrie* grows ever more complex and fascinating; when we eventually assemble the entire story, this 1902 *Bookman* article will supply two pieces of the puzzle.

# NOTES

1. This article appeared in the "Chronicle and Comment" section of *The Bookman*, 15 (March 1902), 11–12.
2. In an interview published in the January 26, 1902, issue of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Dreiser made a few comments about Doubleday's initial reluctance to publish *Sister Carrie*. The incident is played down in the interview, however, and nothing is said about Doubleday's supposed refusal to distribute the novel after publishing it. The interview is included in Donald Pizer's Norton Critical Edition of *Sister Carrie* (New York, 1970), pp. 456–458.
3. Dreiser claimed authorship of the final chapter in his well-known letter of May 13, 1916, to H. L. Mencken; see *Letters of Theodore Dreiser: a Selection*, 3 vols., ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), I, 214.
4. Ellen Moers, "A 'New' First Novel by Arthur Henry," *The Dreiser Newsletter*, 4 (Fall 1973), 7–9. As early as 1961, however, the compilers of the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books* had identified Arthur Henry as the author of *Nicholas Blood, Candidate* (vol. 101, col. 1062).
5. The *National Union Catalog* locates copies of the Dodd *Nicholas Blood* at twelve libraries, including the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, the University of Michigan, the University of Georgia, Princeton University, the Newberry Library, and the University of Illinois. The Pennsylvania copy can be examined on the Research Publications Microfilm series of Wright's American Fiction, vol. III, 1876–1900, no. 2637, reel H–38. There are copies of the Schulte *Nicholas Blood* at the University of Michigan, the Newberry Library, and the University of Illinois. The Schulte issue is called a second "edition" in both the *National Union Catalog* and the *British Museum General Catalogue*, but in the bibliographical sense it is not a new edition because the type was not reset.
6. Henry to Dreiser, July 26, 1900, in the Norton Critical *Sister Carrie*, p. 446.
7. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902.
8. For the most comprehensive account of the revising process yet published, see the *Sister Carrie* chapter in Donald Pizer, *The Novels of Theodore Dreiser: a Critical Study* (Minneapolis, 1976).
9. Elias and Pizer, apparently believing that the *Bookman* article was based on an actual interview with Dreiser, both cite it as evidence of Dreiser's intention to revise the Carrie-Ames chapter. See Elias, *Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, 1970), p. 123 and note 17; Pizer, *The Novels of Theodore Dreiser*, p. 69, n. 52; and Pizer, Norton Critical *Sister Carrie*, p. 353, n. 1.
10. Jewett's letters are among the Dreiser papers at the University of Pennsylvania. Elias has summarized and quoted from them in *Letters*, I, 67–68.
11. See especially Jewett to Dreiser, November 22, 1901, Dreiser papers, University of Pennsylvania. In his response, which he addressed to Taylor, Dreiser sidestepped the question of revising *Carrie* by claiming that he was too deeply involved in *Jennie* to attempt it just then. See Dreiser to Taylor, November 25, 1901, *Letters*, I, 68–69.

12. See Joseph Katz, "Theodore Dreiser's *Ev'ry Month*," *The Library Chronicle*, 38 (1972), 46–66.
13. See *Letters*, I, 57n.
14. The *Advertiser* published a positive review of *Sister Carrie* on December 19, 1900, and it also ran a brief article about the novel's favorable press in England on September 18, 1901. "Cooper" almost surely wrote the article on the English notices, and he may have written the review as well. For texts of both items see *Theodore Dreiser: the Critical Reception*, ed. Jack Salzman (New York, 1972), pp. 4–5 and 24.

# The Heinemann Edition of *Sister Carrie*

JOHN C. BERKEY* and ALICE M. WINTERS†

ON July 31, 1901, William Heinemann, the British publisher, issued Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* as the sixth volume in the Dollar Library: A Monthly Series of American Fiction. This edition of *Sister Carrie*, known as the London edition, "In a good many ways . . . is the most interesting, and perhaps the scarcest (except the first American) of all Dreiser books."[1] The London edition is the only edition of the book in which substantial revisions were made. All American editions published during Dreiser's lifetime, excepting the Heritage edition,[2] used the stereoplates of the original edition, although the editions from 1907 onward incorporated a rewording of the Ade passage.[3]

Many inaccuracies and inconsistencies surround the publication history of the London edition; there are puzzling and unanswered questions concerning its publication in England still awaiting resolution. Among the questions we will address are the following: first, who among the claimants brought the novel to the attention of William Heinemann; second, what was Arthur Henry's role in the editing of the London edition; and, finally, what were the nature and extent of the revisions of the novel for the London edition.

The first indication Dreiser received of Heinemann's intention to publish his novel in England occurred when Dreiser received a letter from Doubleday, Page, and Company, dated May 6, 1901, informing him of the fact and outlining the terms and provisions required by the British publisher. The letter stated, in part: ". . . Mr. Heinemann has practically concluded to issue 'Sister Carrie' in his Dollar Library, paying you a royalty of 10%, *provided* you can condense the first 200 pages of the book into 80 pages. He seems to consider this absolutely essential. . . ."[4]

Dreiser was bitterly disappointed over the commercial failure of his novel in America. The prospect of publication of the novel for a British public was important to him, since he agreed to the terms

* Associate Professor of English, Rutgers University at Camden.
† Journalist, editor, and researcher.

laid out by Heinemann. It is likely he would be flattered by his inclusion in a series which included many widely read American authors of the day and was dedicated to present to the British reading public ". . . a school of young American writers . . . pressing for recognition, gifted with the sense of form, and not wanting either in pathos or in humour—real delineators of life and character."[5]

Publishing this monthly series was a pioneering effort by Heinemann, serving to introduce to England the work of writers representing America's varied and composite population who were already reaching a vast segment of the public in America. The Dollar Library, it was announced, "will devote itself mainly to the introduction of hitherto unknown authors, and it appeals to readers particularly as a pioneer. It will afford an opportunity to English readers of gaining an impression of the mercurial genius picturesquely expressing itself on the other side of the Atlantic, of appreciating a new graft on the tree of English Literature, which, transplanted to another clime, bids fair to yield yet another rich and luxuriant growth."[6]

There are two people who called Heinemann's attention to Dreiser: George A. Brett, a member of the Macmillan Company, and Frank Norris, still an employee of Doubleday, Page, and Company, who had recommended *Sister Carrie* to that firm in 1900.

George A. Brett, pleased that Dreiser's novel had been accepted by the British publisher, wrote Dreiser: "I remember that when I spoke to him [Heinemann] about it and heartily praised the book to him that he had not heard of it and that he made a note of it and I afterwards saw with some amusement that he had published an English edition."[7]

While Brett's endorsement unquestionably reinforced Heinemann's decision, it is clear that Frank Norris was the primary force influencing Heinemann to publish the novel. Dreiser acknowledges his debt to Norris in an unpublished portion of the introduction Dreiser wrote to *McTeague* in The Argonaut Manuscript Limited Edition of Frank Norris's Works: ". . . he [Norris] it was who sent one copy to William Heinemann the London publisher together with a letter of his own which brought about the publication of the work over there."[8]

Prior to Heinemann's publication of the novel, there is evidence that Norris worked tirelessly to bring the novel to the attention of the British public. In 1903, Grant Richards, Norris's London pub-

lisher, wrote Dreiser: "Have I ever written to you about your work? I do not think that I have although I have been meaning to do so ever since June of the year before last [i.e., 1901], when I was in New York and Frank Norris sent me a copy of 'Sister Carrie' and urged me to publish it in England. Well, I did read it on the voyage back but, like a fool, came to the conclusion that for various reasons it was a book which the English readers would not care about. How wrong I was. . . ."[9]

Heinemann's provision that *Sister Carrie* conform to the size of the Dollar Library necessitated considerable cutting and editing, and the responsibility for the revision has been attributed by Vrest Orton to Arthur Henry and Dreiser jointly. The confusion surrounding the editing stems from Orton's vagueness: "Rumor has it," states Orton, "that Frank Norris did the expurgating, both parts of that sentence being untrue; the book was not expurgated and Norris had no hand in its revision. It was cut down by Arthur Henry, Dreiser's friend, and by Dreiser himself."[10] No supporting evidence is presented by Orton for his statement. In a telephone conversation, in October 1975, Mr. Berkey was informed by Mr. Orton that his information undoubtedly was gleaned from Dreiser in a conversation some twenty years after the publication of *Sister Carrie*, when Orton was preparing a bibliography of Dreiser's works.

The issue becomes even more clouded by a letter written by Dreiser dated March 22, 1922, which Orton quotes: "The English edition of SISTER CARRIE was cut *by me* [italics ours] at the request of Mr. Heinemann, who would not publish the book unless it was so cut."[11]

That Dreiser took credit for cutting the novel is clear from a letter written to him by William Heinemann dated September 10, 1901, a month and a half after English publication. Heinemann wrote an enthusiastic letter congratulating Dreiser on the ". . . most exceptionally hearty reception that your book has had by English reviewers. . . . I have just been reading the book again, and I am certain it is vastly improved by the cuts, which I think you have done with a great deal of care and appreciation of the points that I originally raised. These may have been an advantage to the book or otherwise, but at least I think they have made it more readable."[12]

Orton mentions Arthur Henry as a collaborator in the revision.

Yet a reconstruction of the interval between May 6, 1901, when Dreiser first got word of Heinemann's offer, and July 31, 1901, the date of publication, indicates that the revision must have taken place during the months of May and June; during that time Arthur Henry was living on an island off Noank, Connecticut, and Dreiser was living at 1599 East End Avenue, New York. It seems extremely unlikely that the two men cooperated in the revision.

The puzzle may be resolved, however, with the little-known autograph inscription in the 1901 Heinemann *Sister Carrie* in the Otvos Collection in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley:

*Explanation Concerning this Short Version*

Wm Heinemann the Englis[h] publisher refused to publish this work in England unless by cutting out 40,000 words it could be brought within the cost length of his Dollar Library. I refused of course to cut the work. My friend, Arthur Henry, anxious to see it published there—seeing that it had been been [sic] suppressed here, went through it line by line cutting it, as he said "the least harmfully" wherever he could. Finally on the basis of his work and his additional [word blurred] argument that the work in full length was certain to be republished in England later I passed his work. Later, as he predicted it was so published.

*The Author*[13]

While Dreiser's memory was notoriously fickle and unreliable, such a definite statement seems to leave no doubt that Arthur Henry, alone and unassisted, performed the cuts for the Heinemann edition.

To conform to Heinemann's request for a cut of 120 pages from *Sister Carrie*, Henry reduced the 1900 edition by following the same general rules he and Dreiser had formed when they revised the novel for its original publication by Doubleday. He eliminated philosophical passages; he cut speculative comments from the narrative; he excised characters and situations extraneous to the thrust of the plot; and he left out much social comment.

In the main, the cuts tightened the novel and accelerated its narrative pace considerably. The Chicago portion of the novel, which contains many discursive passages, was chosen as the section to be edited. All of the cuts appear in the first nineteen chapters. In all, approximately seventy-three of the first one hundred and ninety-

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The Author

six pages of the 1900 edition have been stricken. A complex reordering of chapters was undertaken; as shown in the following table, the Doubleday, Page edition contains forty-seven chapters, whereas the Heinemann edition contains only forty-three. Chapter headings for chapters III, X, XIII, and XVIII were eliminated.

STRUCTURAL TABLE

(Indicating changes & omissions in pages & chapters)

| *1900 Edition Doubleday, Page* | | *1901 Edition Heinemann* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Chapter* | *deleted from 1900* | *Chapter* | *Notes* |
| I | 2½ pp. | I | |
| II | 2½ | II | |
| III | 4½ | | 6½ pp. (19, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31) transferred from chap. III, 1900, to chap. II, Heinemann. |
| IV | 3½ | III | |
| V | 2 | IV | |
| VI | 3 | V | |
| VII | 6 | VI | |
| VIII | 4½ | VII | |
| IX | 6 | VIII | |
| X | 5 | IX | 5 pp. (106–110) transferred from chap. X, 1900, to chap. IX, Heinemann. |
| | | IX | 2½ pp. (111–113) transferred from chap. XI, 1900, to chap. IX, Heinemann. |
| XI | 10 | | |
| XII | 7 | X | 4 pp. (123–126) transferred from chap. XII, 1900, to chap. X, Heinemann. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| XIII | 1 | X | Entire chap. XIII, 1900, transferred to chap. X, Heinemann, except parts of pp. 136–137 which were deleted. |
| XIV | ½ | XI | |
| XV | 2½ | XII | |
| XVI | 4½ | XIII | |
| XVII | 10 | XIV | Entire chap. XVII, 1900, deleted excepting ½ page 178, which appears in chap. XIV, Heinemann. |
| XVIII | ½ | XIV | Except for deletions noted, chaps. XVII & XVIII, 1900, are combined into chap. XIV, Heinemann. |
| XIX | 1 line | XV | |

There were no further alterations to the text following chapter XIX, page 196 of the 1900 edition. Chapter XIX of the 1900 edition becomes chapter XV of the Heinemann, and the order continues throughout the book. As can be seen, two chapters, XI and XVII, were virtually eliminated in the Heinemann edition. Since these chapters represent major cuts, it is revealing to examine their content.

Chapter XI deals with Carrie's relationship with Mrs. Hale, her neighbor in Chicago. It describes her vague dreams and longings which are unfeelingly brushed aside by Drouet. It reveals Hurstwood's plans for seducing Carrie, which are accelerated after he sees Drouet with another woman. In this chapter for the first time Carrie responds actively to Hurstwood's advances. It can be argued that the novel is deprived of some depth by these cuts, particularly in regard to the gradual change in Carrie as she draws away from Drouet and toward Hurstwood.

One notable mistake was made in the involved editing for the Heinemann edition. Mrs. Hale, Carrie's neighbor, is eliminated from chapters XI, XII, and XIV, so that when she appears in chapter XXII in the Heinemann edition (chapter XXVI, 1900 edition) her presence is completely unexplained.

Except for the opening paragraph, chapter XVII of the 1900 edition is eliminated from the Heinemann edition. This chapter is concerned with Carrie's preparation for her first acting role. Much of the rehearsal section is ancillary to the plot and a prime target for cutting. However, Carrie becomes more active in deceiving Drouet in this chapter. She prompts Hurstwood to feign ignorance of his knowledge of her role in the forthcoming play, thus misleading Drouet. Carrie becomes increasingly disheartened with Drouet's failure to understand her unspoken needs, and increasingly delighted with the opposite response from Hurstwood. The Heinemann edition suffers from the ruthless cutting of this entire chapter which creates a new picture of a growing Carrie, more mature, more aware of what she is doing, and more alive than she has ever been.

The remaining cuts are rarely of this nature; most deal with subsidiary characters and events, or are philosophical passages and authorial comment not integral to the plot. In chapter VIII, Minnie's dream in which she symbolically follows Carrie's slide to her eventual downfall is eliminated. The relationship of Hurstwood with his wife and family is excised from chapter IX of the 1900 edition.

Most other changes in the Heinemann edition were in styling, including spelling and punctuation changes for the benefit of the English reading public. Following is a description of the styling changes made by Heinemann's editors.

## Styling Changes by Heinemann's Editors

1. Heinemann's editors chose to alter punctuation, spelling and words to conform to existing English usage. For example, "a five and two twos" (1900) becomes "a fiver and two twos" (Heinemann).
2. Often the comma is changed in idiosyncratic fashion—sometimes deleted, sometimes added. "Oh, yes, I" (1900), "Oh yes, I" (Heinemann), thereby deleting a comma; "observation and" (1900), "observation, and" (Heinemann), thereby adding a comma. In total, fewer commas appear in the Heinemann edition.
3. Dozens of hyphenated words are present, which are not hyphenated in the 1900 edition. For example, "hip pocket" (1900) becomes "hip-pocket" (Heinemann); "Northwest" (1900) becomes "North-west" (Heinemann); "coat pocket" (1900) becomes "coat-pocket" (Heinemann). Such alterations occur in virtually every chapter.
4. The ampersand is introduced when dealing with the names of busi-

ness establishments. "Rhodes, Morgenthau and Scott" (1900) becomes "Rhodes, Morgenthau & Scott" (Heinemann); "Mooney and Boland" (1900) becomes "Mooney & Boland" (Heinemann); and "James and Hay" (1900) becomes "James & Hay" (Heinemann).

5. A dash is used consistently to replace the colon when introducing dialogue in the 1900 edition: "whispered:" (1900), "whispered—" (Heinemann); "said:" (1900), "said—" (Heinemann).
6. Titles of plays, books and names of newspapers are set off with quotation marks (1900), and with italics (Heinemann).
7. Spelling is changed to conform with English usage: "emphasized" (1900), "emphasised" (Heinemann).
8. Occasionally the tone of the sentence is altered by punctuation changes: "Nothing serious, I hope." (1900), "Nothing serious I hope?" (Heinemann).
9. Quoted passages from letters, news events, and advertisements appear in smaller type than the text of the novel in the 1900 edition. In the Heinemann edition quoted passages appear without reduction in type.

While these styling changes are mostly inconsequential, they nonetheless produce an anglicizing of the novel strangely inappropriate to its regional character.[14]

A complete description of the Heinemann edition can be found in Appendices I through III which include: I, a Bibliographic Description (cf. Vrest Orton in *Dreiserana*, New York, The Chocorua Bibliographies, 1929, pp. 22–23); II, Table of Deletions and Transpositions; and III, Styling Changes.

The publication of *Sister Carrie* by Heinemann in England marked a turning point in Dreiser's career. He had been disillusioned and unhappy about the fate of his novel in America. The publishing problems caused him great inner turmoil, the book's sales were limited, and Dreiser's financial future was bleak. With the publication of the novel in England his fortunes changed. He gained international acclaim as an important American author, the book sold well, and the reviews were most encouraging.[15] His publisher was happy. Never again was he forced to search for a publisher, for his reputation as a serious writer preceded him throughout his long and varied career.

# NOTES

1. Vrest Orton, *Dreiserana: a Book about His Books* (New York [Chocorua Bibliographies], 1929), p. 19.
2. *Sister Carrie* (New York, 1939), Limited Editions Club (illustrated by Reginald Marsh, with an introduction by Burton Rascoe). While this is a new edition, collation between the Heritage edition and the 1907 reveals only 18 punctuation variants.
3. Jack Salzman, "Dreiser and Ade: a Note on the Text of *Sister Carrie*," *American Literature*, 40 (1968–69), 544–548.
4. Doubleday, Page, & Co. to Dreiser, May 6, 1901 (Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania).
5. Preface to The Dollar Library of American Fiction. William Heinemann, London, 1901. Other volumes in the series published prior to *Sister Carrie* are the following: *The Girl at the Halfway House* by E. Hough, *Parlous Times* by David Dwight Wells, *Lords of the North* by Agnes C. Laut, *The Chronic Loafer* by Nelson Lloyd, *Her Mountain Lover* by Hamlin Garland.
6. Ibid.
7. Brett to Dreiser, September 21, 1901 (Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania).
8. (Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania).
9. Richards to Dreiser, July 8, 1903 (Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania).
10. Orton, p. 21.
11. Ibid., p. 22.
12. Heinemann to Dreiser (Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania).
13. This inscription in Mrs. A. Dorian Otvos's copy of the Heinemann edition was undated. However, it must have been written after 1927, when the Constable edition, referred to by Dreiser, was first published. The photograph of the inscription is reproduced by the courtesy of John W. Otvos, from the collection formed by A. Dorian Otvos. Our thanks are due to Dr. James T. Hart, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, for his kind assistance in finding this copy.
14. The anglicizing of American novels by British publishers is discussed fully by Matthew J. Bruccoli, "Some Transatlantic Texts: West to East," in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, ed. O. M. Brack, Jr., and Warner Barnes (Chicago, 1969), pp. 244–255.
15. See Jack Salzman, "The Critical Recognition of *Sister Carrie*, 1900–1907," *Journal of American Studies*, 3 (1969), 123–133. See also Jack Salzman, Introduction, pp. viii–ix, *Sister Carrie: an Abridged Edition*, by Theodore Dreiser and Arthur Henry (New York, 1969 [a facsimile of the Heinemann edition]).

## Bibliographic Description

*Title page*

SISTER CARRIE / (double-rule) / BY / THEODORE DREISER / (publisher's device) / (double-rule) / LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN. 1901. (Entire page enclosed in double-rule box.)

*Partial collation*

Pp. viii, [1], 2–360; as follows: [i] **The Dollar Library / of American Fiction** / (followed by a page of text) [ii] The Dollar Library / (followed by a page of text) / LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN [iii] (facsimile of a one-dollar bill) / *The following Volumes are now ready*:– / (seven titles follow). In the right margin opposite the last title [*September.* / *Other Volumes in preparation.* / **The Dollar Library**. / *A Monthly Series of American Fiction.* / LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN. / *And at all Booksellers and Bookstalls.* [iv] blank [v] The Dollar Library / (rule) / SISTER CARRIE [vi] THE DOLLAR LIBRARY / OF AMERICAN FICTION / (rule) / THE GIRL AT THE HALFWAY HOUSE. / By E. Hough. / PARLOUS TIMES. / By David Dwight Wells. / LORDS OF THE NORTH. / By Agnes C. Laut. / THE CHRONIC LOAFER. / By Nelson Lloyd. / HER MOUNTAIN LOVER. / By Hamlin Garland. / SISTER CARRIE. / By Theodore Dreiser. / THE DARLINGTONS. / By E. E. Peake. / (rule) / LONDON: WM. HEINEMANN. / (the above enclosed by a single-rule box) [vii] (title page) [viii] (at lower left): *This Edition enjoys copyright in / all countries signatory to the Berne / Treaty, and is not to be imported into / the United States of America* / Text: [1], 2–357. On page 358 (unnumbered): PRINTED BY / MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED / EDINBURGH (last leaf blank, followed by sixteen leaves of advertising).

*Binding*

18.8×12.5 cm. (cover dimensions). Green cloth, stamped with white, gray, and black inks. Front cover (stamped in white): The Dollar Library / (circle 6.5 cm. in diameter, showing an eagle perched on the American flag; in the background the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington. Flag, eagle, and circle outlined in black.) / Sister Carrie (stamped in white). (Entire cover enclosed in double-rule box, stamped in black.) Back cover blank.

*Spine*

Sister / Carrie / dot / Theodore / Dreiser / (these stamped in white) (pub-

lisher's device, stamped in black) / Heinemann (stamped in black). The preliminaries, text, and last blank leaf are printed on laid paper; the endpapers are wove. Some copies of this book have sixteen leaves of publisher's advertisements tipped into the back.

## APPENDIX II

### Table of Deletions and Transpositions from the 1900 Edition of *Sister Carrie*

Arthur Henry deleted or transposed ninety-two passages of the 1900 edition to satisfy William Heinemann's request to shorten the novel. These changes are recorded in the following manner: 1.16–2.4 indicates that all text between page 1 line 16 and page 2 line 4 has been cut from the 1900 edition for the 1901 edition. Pick-up and drop words indicating a deleted passage are shown in roman type. Italicized words indicate the beginning and end of the deleted passage. Asterisks indicate the beginnings of paragraphs.

1.16–2.4 broken. **To be . . . might be.* *When
2.7–9 worse. *Of an . . . possibility.* The
2.10–14 tempter. *There . . . eye.* Half
4.5–10 "drummers." *He . . . "masher."* His
4.20–27 Elks. *The whole . . . glance.* *Lest
5.3–6.1 sex. *Let . . . shoes.* *"Let's
6.21–27 forth. *There . . . weight.* *"You
7.3–10 fears. *Her . . . steadily.* *"Why
7.26–32 to her. *Indeed, . . . do.* *He
12.5–15 year. *It . . . direction.* *Mrs. Hanson,
12.21–13.1 indifference. *Her . . . does."* *It
14.29–15.1 toil. *If . . . thing.* *"No,"
15.7–22 small." **She . . . bed.* *When
16.26–17.9 miles. *Its . . . prairie.* *In
18.4–29 understand. *These . . . anything.* [end of chapter]
19.12–20.27 in. *At . . . before.* *Her
20.27–29 way. *She . . . enter.* On
22.9–23.22 search. **In . . . went.* *At
23.27–30 them. *The . . . something.* Some
26.12–28.25 crowd. *In . . . here."* *With
33.2–34 happy. **When . . . right."* *Minnie,
33.35–34.1 spirits *and . . . mood,* began
36.31–37.12 do. **On . . . would.* *On

37.12–30 work. *She . . . spoon.* Her
38.2–11 attitude. *She . . . circum-/stances.* *"I'll
38.20–39.3 harbour-/age? *In . . . discharged.* *It
39.18–40.2 me." **He . . . answered.* *He
40.14–24 machine." **She . . . away.* *The
47.26–48.19 off. *At . . . did.* *His
49.19–23 needed. *The . . . in.* *For
50.21–51.6 rich. **Hurstwood . . . weeks.* *"Why
52.32–53.29 be. **Drouet, . . . pleasure.* *"See
56.2–5 atmosphere. *The . . . character.* Minnie,
57.6–35 people. **Minnie . . . below.* *"Carrie
59.13–60.33 know." **The . . . her.* *During
66.28–67.1 Carrie. *"*That . . . serv-/ing.* He
67.9–20 completely. **That . . . her.* *"So
70.1–23 **The* [beginning word, chap. VII] *it.* *The poor
71.1–7 glad. *Now . . . bills.* *She
72.30–74.19 her. **Carrie . . . ashamed.* The
74.21–24 hope-/less —*much . . . use.* *Her
74.30–75.3 distress. **Curiously, . . . troubles.* *In
75.11–14 story. *She . . . use.* *Without
75.17–22 shoppers. *It . . . jackets.* *There
75.32–76.6 her! *She . . . things.* *The
77.24–78.15 friend. *"*What . . . case.* *"If
78.23–79.7 that. *She . . . there."* *She
79.19–23 smart. **Carrie . . . cheeks.* *"That's
79.32–80.5 shoes. *Drouet . . . skirt."* *In
80.16–34 pleased. **When . . . working.* *"Now,
82.16–24 pace. **As . . . it.* *Drouet
83.1–84.10 **Among* [beginning word, chap. VIII] . . . *drew.* *When
84.10–34 morning, *after . . . oc-/curred* at
85.28–86.7 truthfully. *"*Got . . . away.* *It
86.8–18 alone. *She . . . good.* *They
87.1–27 "*Come* [beginning word on page] . . . *said.* *They
89.27–91.3 musing. **At . . . sleep."* *A week
92.2–10 Park, *was . . . trap.* *The
92.12–19 Jessica. *There . . . subject.* *A lovely
92.22–93.3 it. *Those . . . know.* *Hurstwood's
93.5–94.24 nothing. *There . . . see.* *Mrs. Hurstwood
95.7–97.8 all. *It . . . satisfactory.* *In
98.18–100.16 out. **On . . . destroyed.* [end of chapter]
101.1–106.10 *In the light* [beginning of chapter] . . . *justified.* *She

113.17–122.18 each. *In . . . stood.* [end of chapter]. [106.10–110.34 (end of chapter) inserted at this point. **She* 106.10 changed to **Carrie*]
126.25–133.12 proportion. *That . . . years.* [end of chapter]
134.4–7 her. *Her leniency . . . speedily.* *The
136.20–137.19 spring. **Carrie, . . . action.* *In
138.11–13 Carrie. *He . . . longer.* *"Evans,"
145.8–146.3 cause. **Mrs. Hale, . . . gossip.* *Carrie,
150.8–14 care. *"*Oh, . . . right.*" *Carrie
154.6–17 interests. *He . . . young.* *When
155.1–18 **The* [beginning of page] . . . *anything.* *Hurstwood
156.10–157.19 evening. **The . . . blandly.* *In
160.11–31 com-/ment. **On . . . understood.* *Though
162.24–31 hand. **Hurstwood . . . replied.* *He
169.2–17 reply. *"*Well, . . . else.* "What
169.19–29 Quincel, *mentioning . . . replied.* "Don't
169.29–30 now, "*he . . . restlessness;*" some
169.32–170.1 it." **He . . . place.* *Drouet
170.5–21 her. *"*Now, . . . produced.* *"George!"
170.31–171.1 Gaslight.' " *"*When?*" . . . *replied.* "Suddenly
171.3–22 act." *"*How . . . shyly.* *"Now,
173.18–35 scene. *She . . . her.* In
174.9–21 hope. *Like . . . lasted.* *When
175.2–176.3 warrant. **Drouet . . . misgivings.* *He [176.3–21 **He . . . question.* transposed to end of chapter.]
178.10–179.26 that." **He . . . me.*" *This
179.31–188.5 chance. **Within . . . approve.* [end of chapter]
189.6–190.1 large. *Small . . . work.* *By
190.20–191.7 performance. **In . . . evening.* *At
196.14–15 and *the actor . . . part* were [*the actor* changed to *Mr. Patton*]
196.15–16 scene. *The professional . . . Patton,* had [*The professional* changed to *The latter*]

## APPENDIX III

### Styling Changes from American Edition 1900 to Heinemann Edition 1901

In the 1901 edition there are nearly five hundred changes, many of which appear substantive. While none of Heinemann's records are extant, these changes appear to be the responsibility of the British editors and printers. It is unlikely that Theodore Dreiser saw the proofs of the Heinemann edition.

Some of the changes which appear regularly between the two editions are: in the American edition (1900) the recto and verso of all pages except chapter beginnings contain *Sister Carrie* in the headings, while in the Heinemann edition (1901) Sister Carrie appears on the verso of all pages, and the first phrase of the appropriate chapter heading appears on the recto as a running headline. Also the first paragraph of each chapter is indented in the American edition, but not in the Heinemann.

A complete tabulation of all changes other than those indicated elsewhere follows:

| | *1900* | | *1901* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.7 | August, 1889. | 1.6 | August 1889. |
| 3.27 | "Oh, yes, I | 2.35 | "Oh yes, I |
| 4.15/16 | large, /gold plate | 3.11 | large gold-plate |
| 7.13 | you 'round." | 4.20 | you round." |
| 7.16 | and—" | 4.22 | and"— |
| 7.18 | pocket note-book | 4.24 | pocket-notebook |
| 7.22 | hip pocket | 4.27 | hip-pocket |
| 8.4 | coat pocket | 4.38 | coat-pocket |
| 9.27 | Northwest | 6.8 | North-west |
| 10.14 | "Oh, no," | 6.30 | "Oh no," |
| 10.28 | "Good-bye, till | 6.42 | "Good-bye till |
| 13.8 | observation and | 8.8 | observation, and |
| 15.2 | She asked | 9.17 | After supper she asked |
| 17.19 | ground floor | 10.28 | ground-floor |
| 20.29 | On the way she encountered a great wholesale | 11.16/17 | She stood/irresolute before a great wholesale |
| 24.9 | coördinated | 12.39 | co-ordinated |
| 33.35–34.1 | spirits and her husband's somewhat conversational mood, /began to tell | 17.13/14 | spirits, /began at supper to tell |
| 36.4 | anything: | 18.41 | anything, |
| 38.11 | to-night," said Carrie. | 19.34 | to-night," she said upon leaving. |
| 39.14 | work—" | 20.12 | work"— |
| 43.22 | better, and | 22.39 | better and |
| 47.7 | Fitzgerald and Moy's | 25.25 | Fitzgerald & Moy's |
| 48.28 | glassware | 25.34 | glass-ware |
| 51.9 | good nature | 27.14 | good-nature |
| 54.1 | "Oh, yes" | 28.35 | "Oh yes," |
| 54.12 | "Well, you | 29.2 | "Well, we |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 54.16 | " 'The Hole in the Ground' " | 29.5 | "*The Hole in the Ground*" |
| 56.25 | supper table | 30.18 | supper-table |
| 56.25 | say: "Oh | 30.19 | say, "Oh |
| 58.22 | building, of | 31.5 | building of |
| 59.4 | quarter hours | 31.22 | quarter-hours |
| 59.9/10 | disappoint-/ment Carrie | 31.27 | disappointment she |
| 66.21 | "Rhodes, Morgenthau and Scott | 36.13 | "Rhodes, Morgenthau & Scott |
| 67.25 | "Oh, no," | 36.35 | "Oh no," |
| 68.29 | "Oh, no!" | 37.30 | "Oh no!" |
| 68.33 | vest pocket | 37.34 | vest-pocket |
| 69.5 | key-note. | 37.41 | keynote. |
| 69.14 | whispered: | 38.8 | whispered— |
| 70.25 | take it, but | 38.31 | take the money, but |
| 72.9 | child;" | 39.31 | child"; |
| 72.29 | Fitzgerald and Moy's | 40.8/9 | Fitzgerald &/Moy's |
| 74.20 | her | 40.11 | Carrie |
| 74.21/22 | Drouet. Now it was all so tangled, so hope-/less. | 40.12/13 | Drouet. Away from him it was all so/tangled, so hopeless. |
| 75.16 | wagons | 40.31 | waggons |
| 77.16 | remarked, intuitively. | 42.1 | remarked intuitively. |
| 79.7 | about this until | 42.19 | about his proposition until |
| 81.35 | said: | 44.2 | said— |
| 84.10 | found the note | 44.22 | found Carrie's note |
| 88.7 | gayety | 46.8 | gaiety |
| 92.1 | residence on | 48.1 | residence was on |
| 92.11 | George, Jr. | 48.4 | George, jr., |
| 94.33 | George Jr.'s | 48.21 | George, jr.'s, |
| 112.29 | returned, cheerfully, | 51.17 | returned cheerfully, |
| 112.34 | emphasized | 51.21 | emphasised |
| 112.35 | reëmphasized | 51.22 | re-emphasised |
| 106.10 | She really was | 51.39 | Carrie really was |
| 107.15 | evening in question, "so | 52.34 | evening he called, "so |
| 108.9 | manner, he | 53.19 | manner he |
| 109.18 | coin pocket | 54.20 | coin-pocket |
| 110.15 | 7.30. | 55.8 | seven-thirty. |
| 110.32 | cosey | 55.23 | cosy |
| 124.14/15 | George, /Jr., | 56.26 | George, jr., |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 124.28 | said: | 56.38 | said— |
| 125.6 | 'Rip Van Winkle' | 57.9 | *Rip Van Winkle* |
| 134.1/ 2/3/ | after the scene between Carrie/and Hurstwood in the Ogden Place parlour before he/again put in his appearance. He had | 58.17/ 18/19 | after the theatre party that he/went out to Ogden Place to see her, knowing that Drouet was/away. He had |
| 134.12 | love affair | 58.25 | love-affair |
| 139.11 | said, easily. | 61.20 | said easily. |
| 140.8/ | said, smil-/ingly. | 62.8 | said smilingly. |
| 140.12 | added, encouragingly. | 62.11 | added encouragingly. |
| 141.18 | said, weakly. | 63.9 | said weakly. |
| 141.32 | spoke, his | 63.22/ 23 | spoke/his |
| 143.16 | Surely, this | 64.31 | Surely this |
| 143.17 | said, apologetically | 64.32 | said apologetically |
| 144.5 | said, feelingly; | 65.11 | said feelingly, |
| 144.8 | said, richly, | 65.13 | said richly, |
| 146.3 | Carrie, now that | 65.29 | Now that |
| 146.24 | home-life | 66.12 | home life |
| 147.10 | asked: | 66.33 | asked— |
| 148.9 | Drouet, smilingly. | 67.24 | Drouet smilingly. |
| 149.11 | continued: | 68.17 | continued— |
| 149.23 | "Oh, yes I | 68.29 | "Oh yes, I |
| 151.19 | saying: | 70.5 | saying— |
| 153.3 | "The Covenant," | 71.12 | *The Convenant,* |
| 154.19 | grated. | 72.6 | grated! |
| 154.21 | Mrs. Hurstwood, in | 72.8 | Mrs. Hurstwood in |
| 155.22 | "The Covenant," which | 72.18/ 19 | *The Covenant*/which |
| 156.1 | it then, | 72.33 | it, then |
| 156.5 | ticket and | 72.37 | ticket, and |
| 157.19/ 20 | In the past he had always commanded a certain amount/of respect, which | 72.42– 73.1 | Hurstwood had always commanded a certain amount of/respect in his home, which |
| 157.34 | George, Jr., | 73.14 | George, jr., |
| 158.27 | writing paper | 73.40 | writing-paper |
| 163.3 | said: | 76.30 | said— |
| 163.8 | say: | 76.35 | say— |
| 164.18 | Hurstwood, quietly. | 77.36/ 37 | Hurst-/wood quietly. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 164.35 | are then," he | 78.11 | are, then," he |
| 166.27 | said, jokingly | 79.26 | said jokingly |
| 168.2 | order | 80.2 | Order |
| 169.19 | 'Under the Gaslight' | 80.30 | *Under the Gaslight* |
| 170.31 | 'Under the Gaslight' | 81.11 | *Under the Gaslight* |
| 171.34 | 'Under the Gaslight' | 81.27 | *Under the Gaslight* |
| 172.33 | Carrie, reflectively | 82.17 | Carrie reflectively |
| 176.11 | Oh, yes, | 84.29 | Oh yes, |
| 178.2 | Avery on conditions | 85.2 | Avery under conditions |
| 190.1 | By the time the 16th had arrived Hurstwood's | 85.21 | When the night arrived Hurstwood's |
| 190.20–191.7 | performance. In . . . evening. At six | 86.1–7 | perform-/ance. She had been to several rehearsals, and besides mastering her/part had become acquainted with the members of the cast—/ Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Hoagland, a professional named Patton, /and several others. /At six |
| 194.5 | hope. | 88.19 | hope? |
| 195.4 | replied: | 89.9 | replied— |
| 195.13 | half hour | 89.18 | half-hour |
| 196.3 | small, hired | 89.31 | small hired |
| 196.4 | music rack with his baton | 89.32 | music-rack with his bâton |
| 197.10 | saying: | 90.26 | saying— |
| 197.24 | say, sadly: | 90.37 | say sadly— |
| 197.34 | change, of | 91.4 | change of |
| 199.17 | "Oh, dear | 92.12 | "Oh dear |
| 200.9 | ballroom | 92.38 | ball-room |
| 200.12 | know," | 92.40 | know" |
| 201.24 | passion, which | 94.1 | passion which |
| 203.9 | replied: | 95.11 | replied— |
| 205.34 | pears | 97.16 | pearls |
| 206.5 | animation: | 97.23 | animation— |
| 206.10 | saying: | 97.27 | saying— |
| 206.27 | overcast.' " | 97.42 | 'overcast.' " |
| 206.30 | she——" | 98.3 | she"— |
| 210.5 | "Oh, yes, | 100.26 | "Oh yes, |
| 210.14 | once, only, did | 100.35 | once only did |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 210.27 | prize at | 101.4 | prize, at |
| 210.30 | actress, tenderly | 101.8 | actress tenderly |
| 210.33/ 34 | saying, /complacently, | 101.11/ 12 | saying com-/placently, |
| 212.33 | departure. "what's | 102.34 | departure, "what's |
| 213.26 | breakfast table | 103.19 | breakfast-table |
| 213.32/ 33 | water-/ing places | 103.26 | watering-places |
| 218.9/ 10 | drummer, in-/credulously. | 106.41/ 42 | drummer in-/credulously. |
| 219.22 | His put | 107.41 | He put |
| 220.18 | himself, passionately, | 108.28 | himself passionately, |
| 220.19/ 20 | out, /b'George | 108.29/ 30 | out/b'George |
| 222.3 | answered, simply. | 109.22 | answered simply. |
| 222.10 | said, gloomily, | 109.28 | said gloomily, |
| 222.13 | Carrie, easily. | 109.30 | Carrie easily. |
| 222.26/ 27 | asked, in-/tensely. | 110.1 | asked intensely. |
| 223.21 | said, tenderly | 110.28 | said tenderly |
| 223.22 | whatever—" | 110.29 | whatever"— |
| 224.11 | Carrie, softly. | 111.10 | Carrie softly. |
| 224.25 | answered, frankly | 111.22 | answered frankly |
| 224.26 | then you'll | 111.23 | then, you'll |
| 224.30 | asked, diffidently, | 111.27 | asked diffidently, |
| 225.25 | said, joyously, | 112.14 | said joyously, |
| 228.9 | breakfast table | 113.26 | breakfast-table |
| 228.19 | fag end | 113.35 | fag-end |
| 228.32/ 33 | Jessica,/sharply | 114.6/7 | Jessica/sharply, |
| 229.9 | George, Jr., | 114.17 | George, jr., |
| 230.16 | said, jocosely, to | 115.14 | said jocosely to |
| 230.34 | asked, artfully, | 115.32 | asked artfully, |
| 232.33 | said, cautiously, | 117.14 | said cautiously, |
| 233.9 | raspingly: | 117.24 | raspingly— |
| 233.24 | around." | 117.38 | around?" |
| 234.33 | George, Jr., | 118.38 | George, jr., |
| 236.5 | ha, he exclaimed softly, as | 119.36 | ha! he exclaimed softly as |
| 236.17 | said, at last | 120.6 | said at last |
| 236.22 | "No," sharply. | 120.11 | "No" sharply. |
| 237.12 | said: | 120.34 | said— |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 237.22 | said, at last | 121.1 | said at last |
| 237.35 | said, finally | 121.13 | said finally, |
| 238.3 | said, stubbornly | 121.16 | said stubbornly |
| 240.4 | said, at | 122.41 | said at |
| 242.18 | house-maid's | 124.7 | housemaid's |
| 243.11 | said: | 124.34 | said— |
| 247.26 | said: | 128.11 | said— |
| 247.30 | Carrie blazing | 128.15 | Carrie, blazing |
| 253.26 | wellspring | 133.1 | well-spring |
| 255.35 | Carrie to | 134.27 | Carrie, to |
| 256.20 | waiting and | 135.4 | waiting, and |
| 258.23 | Drouet. | 136.28 | Drouet? |
| 261.21 | Oh, yes, | 138.29 | Oh yes, |
| 263.14 | six, and | 140.4 | six and |
| 263.31 | times, and | 140.19 | times and |
| 265.13 | read: | 141.25 | read:— |
| 265.14 | *Sir:* | 141.26 | SIR,— |
| 265.19/20 | accordingly./Very . . . etc." | 141/31 | accordingly.—Very . . . etc." |
| 267.2 | Oh, yes, | 142.28 | Oh yes. |
| 267.7 | hungry and | 142.33 | hungry, and |
| 267.30 | but, alas, | 143.17 | but alas, |
| 272.11 | added: "What | 146.38 | added, "What |
| 273.13 | 'Herald' | 147.31 | *Herald* |
| 273.19 | "Herald" | 147.37 | *Herald* |
| 275.3 | "Oh, no, | 149.4 | "Oh no, |
| 275.24 | "Oh, no, | 149.25 | "Oh no, |
| 276.12 | "The Old Homestead" | 150.4 | *The Old Homestead* |
| 277.17 | See and Company's | 151.5 | See & Company's |
| 279.3 | James and Hay | 152.15 | James & Hay |
| 279.22 | James and Hay | 152.33 | James & Hay |
| 281.29 | then, as | 154.18 | then as |
| 281.33 | answered: "yes | 154.21/22 | answered,/"yes |
| 282.17 | shabbily-genteel | 154.41 | shabbily genteel |
| 285.4 | Fitzgerald and Moy | 157.3 | Fitzgerald & Moy |
| 285.15 | words: | 157.14 | words— |
| 285.29 | quietly. | 157.26 | quietly? |
| 286.14 | Oh, yes, | 158.3 | Oh yes, |
| 288.2 | hand satchel. | 159.16 | hand-satchel! |
| 288.23 | hand bag, | 159.37 | hand-bag, |

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| 289.25/26 | long-dis-/tance | 160.33 | long distance |
| 292.3 | asked: | 162.2 | asked— |
| 292.7 | him, he | 162.6 | him he |
| 298.20 | Carrie, savagely. | 167.1 | Carrie savagely |
| 299.16 | aid; at | 167.31 | aid: at |
| 301.25 | "Oh, yes," | 169.22 | "Oh yes," |
| 307.2 | "Oh, no!" she answered, rather | 173.2 | "Oh no!" she answered rather |
| 307.10 | he said, "I | 173.9 | he said; "I |
| 309.4 | stock-broker. | 174.23 | stockbroker. |
| 309.22 | added: "How | 174.40 | added, "How |
| 312.12 | Mooney and Boland | 177.1/2 | Mooney/& Boland |
| 314.7 | Fitzgerald and Moy | 178.19/20 | Fitzgerald/& Moy |
| 314.18/19 | Fitzgerald and/Moy | 178.30 | Fitzgerald & Moy |
| 315.10/11 | Fitz-/gerald and Moy | 179.13 | Fitzgerald & Moy |
| 317.18 | said: | 180.42 | said— |
| 318.13 | depot | 181.27 | depôt |
| 319.9 | passed | 182.14 | passsed [sic] |
| 319.10 | depot | 182.14 | depôt |
| 324.15 | wood-work. | 185.25 | woodwork. |
| 325.7/8 | Fitz-/gerald and Moy | 186.7 | Fitzgerald & Moy |
| 325.35 | Fitzgerald and Moy | 186.31/32 | Fitzgerald &/Moy |
| 327.8/9 | Fitz-/gerald and Moy's | 187.28/29 | Fitzgerald/& Moy's |
| 327.30 | asked: | 188.6 | asked— |
| 327.34 | said: | 188.9 | said— |
| 329.23 | perforce, the | 189.20 | perforce the |
| 332.24 | came, and | 191.19 | came and |
| 333.28 | time, also, he | 192.11 | time also he |
| 336.9 | breakfast table | 194.5 | breakfast-table |
| 337.29 | Vance Carrie | 195.14 | Vance, Carrie |
| 339.31 | dark-blue | 196.40 | dark blue |
| 341.33 | salesrooms | 198.19 | sale-rooms |
| 343.23 | a low song | 199.15 | a long song |
| 346.9 | "Oh, no, | 201.4 | "Oh no, |
| 346.20 | "A Gold Mine." | 201.13 | "*A Gold Mine.*" |

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| 346.26 | dinner table | 201.19 | dinner-table |
| 349.13 | good looking, | 203.19 | good-looking, |
| 349.28 | Ames, pleasantly. | 203.31/32 | Ames/pleasantly. |
| 350.5 | Bob smiling, | 203.42 | Bob, smiling, |
| 350.15 | "in 'Lord Chumley.' " | 204.9 | "in *Lord Chumley*." |
| 350.30 | "Oh, no; | 204.23 | "Oh no; |
| 351.35–352.1 | "Morning" and "Evening/World." | 205.19/20 | *Morning*/and *Evening World* |
| 352.18 | well off | 205.35 | well-off |
| 354.17 | saying: "Soup | 207.13 | saying, "Soup |
| 355.7 | dark-brown | 207.36 | dark brown |
| 355.19 | answered, interestedly. | 208.3 | answered interestedly. |
| 356.18 | "Moulding a Maiden," | 208.34 | *Moulding a Maiden*, |
| 356.24 | Carrie, honestly. | 208.40 | Carrie honestly. |
| 356.29 | 'Dora Thorne,' " | 209.3 | *Dora Thorne*," |
| 356.31/32 | "Dora/Thorne," | 209.5/6 | *Dora/Thorne*, |
| 357.22 | her and | 209.28 | her, and |
| 358.33 | Ah, if | 210.24/25 | Ah!/if |
| 359.8 | "Oh, no," | 210.34 | "Oh no," |
| 364.27 | "Oh, yes," | 214.37 | "Oh yes," |
| 365.8 | narrow, little | 215.10 | narrow little |
| 365.18 | said: | 215.19 | said— |
| 367.31 | "Herald," | 217.14 | *Herald*, |
| 368.1 | looked, and | 217.19 | looked and |
| 368.2/3 | lot,/25 | 217.20 | lot 25 |
| 370.4 | ventured, timidly. | 218.41/42 | ventured/timidly. |
| 372.6 | off and | 219.33 | off, and |
| 372.22 | "World" | 220.12 | *World* |
| 372.30 | "Daily News" | 220.19 | *Daily News* |
| 372.35 | mentally: | 220.24 | mentally— |
| 373.33 | "Herald." | 221/12 | *Herald*. |
| 377.3 | breakfast table | 223.30 | breakfast-table |
| 379.23 | Fitzgerald and Moy | 225.29 | Fitzgerald & Moy |
| 380.1 | decent looking | 225.41 | decent-looking |
| 380.26 | said: | 226.20 | said— |
| 380.30 | 2d | 226.24 | 2nd |
| 381.16 | "King Lear." | 226.42 | *King Lear*. |

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| 384.24/25 | Now,/being, perforce, idle | 229.4/5 | Now, being/perforce idle |
| 385.17/18 | "Evening World" and "Evening/Sun." | 229.31 | *Evening World* and *Evening Sun.* |
| 385.29 | Carrie, quietly. | 229.42 | Carrie quietly. |
| 387.20 | next, bitter | 231.10 | next bitter |
| 390.17 | grewsome | 233.21 | gruesome |
| 390.18 | Carrie, weakly | 233.22 | Carrie weakly |
| 390.20 | haven't, either, she | 233.24 | haven't either, she |
| 391.10 | said: | 234.5 | said— |
| 392.7 | said: | 234.37 | said— |
| 392.12 | be: | 234.42 | be— |
| 392.35 | beginning: | 235.21 | beginning— |
| 393.14 | bad looking | 235.34 | bad-looking |
| 394.5 | said: | 236.15 | said— |
| 396.8 | Carrie, reluctantly. | 237.17 | Carrie reluctantly. |
| 396.29 | dinner: | 237.35 | dinner— |
| 397.19 | Hurstwood, significantly | 238.12 | Hurstwood significantly |
| 397.23 | Hurstwood, doggedly | 238.15 | Hurstwood doggedly |
| 397.24 | inference: "but | 238.16 | inference, "but |
| 398.2 | said: | 238.28 | said— |
| 400.24 | added: "Some one | 240.30/31 | added,/"Someone |
| 400.27 | answered, sullenly. | 240.34 | answered sullenly. |
| 401.2 | half-thinking | 241.1 | half thinking |
| 402.12 | said Carrie, fiercely. | 241.40 | said Carrie fiercely. |
| 402.15 | Carrie interrupted: | 242.1 | Carrie interrupted. |
| 403.1/2 | she asked,/fiercely. | 242.20 | she asked fiercely. |
| 408.23 | said: "Well | 246.25 | said, "Well |
| 409.14 | breakfast table, | 247.4 | breakfast-table, |
| 409.18 | it, too. | 247.7 | it too. |
| 412.1/2 | she said, sym-/pathetically | 249.1/2 | she said sympa-/thetically. |
| 412.33 | 'Clipper,' | 249.31 | *Clipper,* |
| 413.5 | "Clipper," | 249.37 | *Clipper,* |
| 413.18 | 'Clipper.' | 250.6 | *Clipper.* |
| 415.13 | gotten——" | 251.26 | gotten"— |
| 415.30 | close: "If | 251.39 | close, "If |
| 415.34 | asked: | 251.42 | asked— |
| 416.26 | half-smiling | 252.26 | half smiling |
| 416.29 | himself: | 252.28 | himself— |

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| 418 | (in chapter head) ELF LAND |
| 418.17 | Oh, dear! |
| 421.1/2 | she/said, aimlessly. |
| 422.26 | said: |
| 423.23 | company: |
| 424.20 | just——" |
| 427.3 | day, after |
| 427.24 | papers; |
| 432.12 | "Yes; it |
| 432.24 | 'The Queen's Mate' |
| 434.27 | said: |
| 434.35 | said: |
| 437.20 | ballet: |
| 437.25 | good looking |
| 438.35 | complications rent day, and |
| 439.14 | said: |
| 439.28 | spoke: |
| 439.35 | "Oh, yes," |
| 440.19 | Hurstwood, sadly. |
| 441.7 | "Oh, yes, |
| 441.13 | "Oh, no," |
| 441.31 | she, looking |
| 442.20 | "Oh, dear me!" |
| 442.28 | Orrin, gaily. |
| 443.10 | "Oh, no," |
| 444.13 | said "I |
| 444.13/14 | ex-/claimed: |
| 445.12/13 | success—/The——," |
| 445.34 | sitting place |
| 446.10 | flat, and |
| 446.25 | said, mildly. |
| 448.33 | "World." |
| 449.4 | "World." |

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| 253 | (in chapter head) ELFLAND |
| 253.25 | Oh dear! |
| 255.22/23 | she said/aimlessly. |
| 256.37 | said— |
| 257.23 | company— |
| 258.11 | just"— |
| 260.3 | day after |
| 260.23 | papers, |
| 264.1 | "Yes, it |
| 264.12/13 | *The/Queen's Mate* |
| 265.36 | said— |
| 266.2 | said— |
| 268.2 | ballet— |
| 268.6 | good-looking |
| 269.3/4 | complications,/rent day and |
| 269.16 | said— |
| 269.27 | spoke— |
| 269.34 | "Oh yes," |
| 270.9 | Hurstwood sadly. |
| 270.32 | "Oh yes, |
| 270.37 | "Oh no," |
| 271.12 | she looking |
| 271.35 | "Oh dear me!" |
| 272.1 | Orrin gaily. |
| 272.17 | "Oh no," |
| 273.4 | said, "I |
| 273.4 | exclaimed, |
| 273.27 | success, *The* ——," |
| 273.42 | sitting-place |
| 274.14/15 | flat/and |
| 274.29/30 | said/mildly. |
| 276.17 | *World.* |
| 276.22 | *World.* |

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| 449.19 | read: | 276.35 | read— |
| 450.1 | read: | 277.11 | read— |
| 450.2 | 50 skilled | 277.12 | Fifty skilled |
| 451.16 | added: "I | 278.17 | added, "I |
| 452.28 | hearts, he | 279.18 | hearts he |
| 452.31 | significance, he | 279.21 | significance he |
| 453.18 | added: "Still | 279.40 | added, "Still |
| 453.29/30 | lat-/ter, quietly | 280.8/9 | latter/quietly |
| 454.18 | rawboned | 280.27 | raw-boned |
| 455.11 | "Yes; but | 281.9 | "Yes, but |
| 456.31 | said: | 282.18 | said— |
| 457.29 | end and | 283.7 | end, and |
| 458.30 | Hurstwood, discreetly. | 283.38 | Hurstwood discreetly. |
| 459.21 | won't——" | 284.20 | won't"— |
| 462.5 | this the | 286.18 | this, the |
| 462.22 | cars and | 286.33 | cars, and |
| 462.28 | up, and | 286.38 | up and |
| 464.25 | half dozen | 288.16 | half-dozen |
| 465.27 | strikers, determinedly. | 289.8 | strikers determinedly. |
| 466.32 | blackguards," yelled | 290.1 | blackguards!" yelled |
| 467.6 | ye—" | 290.8 | ye"— |
| 467.18 | complied and | 290.20 | complied, and |
| 467.20 | "That — — — —— hit | 290.22 | "That —— hit |
| 467.24/25 | a — — — ——,"/said | 290.26 | a ——," said |
| 469.9 | him: | 291.34 | him— |
| 470.11/12 | some-/where and | 292.26/27 | somewhere,/and |
| 470.17 | Hurstwood, savagely. | 292.32 | Hurstwood savagely. |
| 471.20 | sucker," he | 293.26 | sucker!" he |
| 471.22 | off and | 293.28 | off, and |
| 471.35 | Outside, he | 293.40 | Outside he |
| 472.20 | Hurstwood, weakly. | 294.17 | Hurstwood weakly. |
| 472.25 | away, a | 294.22 | away a |
| 473.13 | "World." | 295.2 | *World.* |
| 474.17 | laughter: | 295.21 | laughter— |
| 474.24 | answered: | 295.28 | answered— |
| 476.3 | item, but | 296.27 | item but |
| 477.18 | manner: | 297.31 | manner— |
| 477.18 | room-rent | 297.32 | room rent |

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| 477.21 | bath, cheap. | 297.34/35 | bath/cheap. |
| 478.9 | leaving and | 298.13 | leaving, and |
| 478.17 | "Oh, no," | 298.20 | "Oh no," |
| 479.6 | Carrie, frankly. | 299.1 | Carrie frankly. |
| 479.10 | added: "I'll | 299.4 | added, "I'll |
| 479.21 | breakfast table | 299.15 | breakfast-table |
| 481.11 | poor looking | 300.24 | poor-looking |
| 482.21 | girl, good-naturedly | 301.21 | girl good-naturedly |
| 483.3 | Carrie, nervously. | 301.36 | Carrie nervously. |
| 483.28 | hungry and | 302.16 | hungry, and |
| 484.14/15 | hand./"I'm | 302.34/35 | hand,/"I'm |
| 484.20 | it.—CARRIE." | 302.40/41 | it./"CARRIE." |
| 485.22 | loud: | 303.35 | loud— |
| 487.18 | body: | 305.3 | body— |
| 487.19/20 | 'The Wives of/Abdul' | 305.4/5 | *The Wives of/Abdul* |
| 487.34 | 'World' | 305.16 | *World* |
| 489.20/21 | carriage rid-/ing, | 306.26 | carriage-riding, |
| 489.27 | 'The Wives of Abdul' | 306.32/33 | *The/Wives of Abdul* |
| 490.28 | once and | 307.24 | once, and |
| 492.14 | said: | 308.31 | said— |
| 493.15 | former, soothingly. | 309.23 | former soothingly. |
| 493.35 | "Sun." | 309.41 | *Sun.* |
| 494.7 | "Evening World," | 310.8 | *Evening World,* |
| 494.9 | advising: "If | 310.11 | advising, "If |
| 496 | (in chapter head) ELF LAND | 311 | (in chapter head) ELFLAND |
| 495.13/14 | realising,/in consciousness, the | 311.2 | realising in consciousness the |
| 495.20 | him and | 311.8 | him, and |
| 496.20 | say: "How | 312.2 | say, "How |
| 498.17 | "Oh, yes," | 313.13 | "Oh yes," |
| 498.17 | Carrie, vacantly, | 313.13 | Carrie vacantly, |
| 498.35 | to——" | 313.29 | to"— |
| 499.21 | Mr. Withers, blandly. | 314.5 | Mr. Withers blandly. |
| 501.13 | added: "Mrs. | 315.19 | added, "Mrs. |

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| 501.27 | said: 'Well, | 315.32 | said, 'Well, |
| 502.21 | added: "I | 316.16 | added, "I |
| 503.13 | one: | 316.40 | one— |
| 504.7 | Carrie, innocently. | 317.25 | Carrie innocently. |
| 504.16 | little, blue-eyed | 317.34 | little blue-eyed |
| 505.5 | applied; "Miss | 318.14 | applied, "Miss |
| 505.12 | cashier, sharply. | 318.20 | cashier sharply. |
| 506.15 | "Herald" | 319.11 | *Herald* |
| 508.10 | "World" | 320.9 | *World* |
| 508.11 | "Herald" | 320.9 | *Herald* |
| 509.1/2 | road/and | 320.25 | road, and |
| 509.15 | Fitzgerald and Moy's | 321.1 | Fitzgerald & Moy's |
| 509.18 | estate in | 321.3 | estate, in |
| 510.2 | "Evening World" | 321.21/22 | *Evening/World* |
| 510.3 | Instantly, he | 321.22/23 | Instantly/he |
| 511.13 | said: | 322.20 | said— |
| 511.28 | Hurstwood, nervously, | 322.34 | Hurstwood nervously, |
| 512.2 | Fitzgerald and Moy's | 322.42 | Fitzgerald & Moy's |
| 513.2 | said: | 323.32 | said— |
| 513.32 | said, weakly. | 324.18 | said weakly. |
| 514.17 | weakly looking | 324.37 | weakly-looking |
| 514.34/35 | said,/directly | 325.10 | said directly |
| 515.4 | Hurstwood, softly, | 325.16 | Hurstwood softly, |
| 515.11 | result, he | 325.22 | result he |
| 515.23 | on, vaguely | 325.31 | on vaguely |
| 515.32 | said: | 325.39 | said— |
| 521.26 | be and | 330.14 | be, and |
| 523.5 | Hurstwood, indifferently | 331.15 | Hurstwood indifferently |
| 524.13 | softly: | 332.13 | softly, |
| 526.6 | mind, now. | 333.19 | mind now. |
| 527.6 | Carrie, mildly, | 334.8 | Carrie mildly, |
| 528.24 | Carrie, pleasantly | 335.17 | Carrie pleasantly |
| 528.33 | "Yes; they | 335.25 | "Yes, they |
| 529.5 | said, suddenly; | 335.32 | said suddenly; |
| 529.22 | Why that | 336.5 | Why, that |
| 529.26 | Drouet, incredulously. | 336.9 | Drouet incredulously. |
| 530.29 | you—" | 337.1 | you"— |
| 530.35 | Carrie, gently. | 337.6 | Carrie gently. |

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| 531.3 | said: | 337.8 | said— |
| 531.28 | said; "what's | 337.31 | said, "what's |
| 532.2 | five and | 337.39 | fiver and |
| 534.16 | add: "I | 339.32 | add, "I |
| 535.22 | I——" | 340.28 | I"— |
| 537.2 | out——" | 341.34 | out"— |
| 537.24 | added: | 342.11 | added— |
| 538.15 | she said, absently, | 342.33 | she said absently, |
| 540.12 | motherly looking | 344.3 | motherly-looking |
| 545.15 | large, bright | 347.37/38 | large/bright |
| 546.16 | large, plate | 348.29 | large plate |
| 546.17/18 | napery,/and | 348.31 | napery and |
| 546.21 | stock still | 348.34 | stock-still |
| 547.9 | said, incoherently, | 349.13 | said incoherently, |
| 547.25 | I——" | 349.28 | I"— |
| 548.26 | "Père Goriot," | 350.20 | *Père Goriot*, |
| 549.4 | "Oh, dear, | 350.32 | "Oh dear, |
| 551.9 | "Oh, yes," | 352.19 | "Oh yes," |
| 553.10 | voice, suggestively. | 353.41/42 | voice/suggestively. |
| 553.30 | called: | 354.18 | called, |
| 554.26 | said, weakly, | 355.3 | said weakly, |

# The *Sister Carrie* Scrapbook

NEDA M. WESTLAKE*

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS
34 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK

May 28, 1900

My Dear Mr. Dreiser:

My report of *Sister Carrie* has gone astray and I cannot now put my hands on it.

But I remember that I said, and it gives me pleasure to repeat it, that it was the best novel I had read in M.S. since I had been reading for the firm, and that it pleased me as well as any novel I have read in *any* form, published or otherwise. . . .

You may rest assured I shall do all in my power to see that the decision is for publication. . . .

Very Sincerely yrs
Frank Norris[1]

THIS letter, crucial for the publishing history of Theodore Dreiser's first novel, appears on page 34 of the large scrapbook filled with letters concerning *Sister Carrie* which he had collected from 1900. The scrapbook,[2] lettered by Dreiser on the spine "Sister Carrie—Letters On—1900——," contains 245 letters, pasted in, tipped in, or attached by pins and paper clips, arranged in approximate chronological order.

The earliest letter after the publication on November 8, 1900, of *Sister Carrie* is from William Marion Reedy,[3] December 26, 1900, from St. Louis: "Dear Mr. Dreiser: I have just finished reading 'Sister Carrie'—in one sitting It is damned good. I shall say so as emphatically as this in the *Mirror* I thank you for the treat I've just had . . ." (p. 26).[4]

The latest letter is from Ralph Fabri, Dreiser's artist friend, April 10, 1930, from New York (p. 1), a brief note accompanying a humorous sketch of a proposed coat of arms, prompted by an enclosed

* Curator, Rare Book Collection, University of Pennsylvania.

clipping from the New York *Times* of the same date announcing the sale at auction of a presentation copy of a 1900 edition of *Sister Carrie* for $250.00.

The rest of the letters are dated between 1901 and 1923, many of them referring to later editions of *Sister Carrie*: the London edition of 1901, and the New York editions of 1907, 1912, and 1917. There are a number of letters from admirers asking where copies of *Sister Carrie* can be procured or requesting permission to send a copy for an autograph. Among the noteworthy comments:

A telegram from Lionel Barrymore, Chicago, March 8, 1922, "Would you consider making play of Sister Carrie am enormously interested in possibility of playing Heirstwend [sic] . . ." (p. 218).

A letter from George A. Brett of Macmillan Company, New York, September 21, 1901, ". . . I may say that it [*Sister Carrie*] had not escaped me on its first appearance nor had I failed to note the favourable reviews of 'Sister Carrie' in the English papers. I have been wondering when we were to have the pleasure of reading your next manuscript . . ." (p. 159).

A letter from Curtis Brown, London, September 2, 1907, ". . . If you are the same Theodore Dreiser who wrote a book called 'Sister Carie [sic]', published here by Heinemann some years ago,[5] I offer garlands, if you will accept them, for it seemed to me an uncommonly good novel. Have you another one like it in hand?" (p. 77).

A letter from Gelett Burgess, Boston, June 2, 1907, "Let me congratulate you upon the publication of 'Sister Carrie'[6] which I read years ago, at Frank Norris's solicitation and admired greatly. I'm glad that time has vindicated the book, and that it has attracted so much attention. . ." (p. 71).

A letter from James Huneker, New York, October 11, 1910, ". . . if you, Theodore Dreiser could or would return to your old field[7] the gain for our literature would be something worth while. We have only one 'Sister Carrie,' despite the army of imitators . . ." (p. 155).

A letter from Richard Le Gallièmne, Oxford, Ohio [n.d.], ". . . I have just finished 'Sr Carrie', & put down the book with that sigh which is at once satisfaction with one's author, and regret that the world of his imagination in which we have been so vividly living has come to an end . . ." (p. 2).

A letter from Catherine Markham (Mrs. Edwin Markham), Landing, New Jersey, September 12, 1907, "We both recall with pleasure your visit to Staten Island, and have been much interested in the vicissitudes of *Sister Carrie*. In that book you touched the quivering quick of a tragedy more terrible than the woes of the 'sceptered pall'. The meritableness of the descent is appalling, especially in the case of the man. The grim simplicity of the telling is just the frame for the barren sordid lives . . ." (p. 169).

A letter from Langdon Mitchell, Hot Springs, Virginia, April 15, 1908, ". . . I seldom write to an author to tell him I think his work so & so, but, having just finished Sister Carrie, I find myself under an impulsion to write to you. Your gift for fiction is so marked, and so unusual,—the novel is so fine, such reality,—& sincereness, such grip, that I should really feel I had not done what I *should*,—if I failed to tell you so.—I hope you will not consider me an intrusive person—for praise of a certain sort is intrusive. But whether or no, I think your book a work of a rare sort,—full of gift, full of genius, striking,—& above all, again, so sincere, so true to the insight which prompted you to write it . . ." (p. 58).

A letter from Gustavus Myers, Bryant's Pond, Maine, May 7, 1907, ". . . Amid all the unreal stuff turned out in the form of novels—tons of it—yours is one of the few truly realistic works, with a narrative absolutely true to life and artistically told. It must have been a job of vast detail and observation to get all that mass of points so accurately. I did not detect a false note throughout . . ." (p. 43).

The arrangement of the letters in the scrapbook has led to an error, which should be noted, in ascribing a document to Arthur Henry, Dreiser's friend and collaborator in the early years. On page 150 there is a five-page typed "history" of the publication of *Sister Carrie*, which is printed with this article. There is no date or signature, but at the top of the first page, in pencil, appears "[before Feb. 8, 1901]," and at the end of the article, again in pencil and in the same hand, "[Arthur Henry?]."

A reading of the article makes it clear that it was written well after the assigned date, since the conclusion mentions the 1907 B. W. Dodge edition of *Sister Carrie*. By 1907 Dreiser and Arthur Henry were no longer in close association, and it is doubtful that at that time Henry would have been prompted to compose this extravagant

defense of the book. The style is not that of Arthur Henry who was not given to the hyperbole of this piece.

This error has been perpetuated in a published reference to the history of *Sister Carrie*,[8] a mistake which the following comments may clarify.

Robert Elias, one of Dreiser's biographers, went through the scrapbook many years ago and thoughtfully pencilled in the names of correspondents whose signatures were not clear. He also supplied dates and signatures within brackets where none existed in the document, basing his ascriptions on context and association within the scrapbook.

In this case, the error of the date and signature may be attributed to the position of the article in the scrapbook. It is followed on page 151 by a letter from George Horton, Chicago, February 8, 1901, to Arthur Henry in which he says, "I am not at all surprised at your version of the Doubleday-Dreiser story. I had fancied something of the kind. 'Sister Carrie' is a work of genius and Doubleday belongs to that species of long-eared animals which are not hares. . . ." Henry had been closely involved in the publication dilemma of *Sister Carrie* in 1900, and by early 1901 must have written or told the story to his friend George Horton. It seems clear that the location and context of the Horton letter, which at first glance would seem to be in reply to the preceding document in the scrapbook, are responsible for the attribution to Arthur Henry.

Some stylistic patterns and personal data suggest the probable author. The persistent use of the passive voice, the confusion in spelling of words with "ei" and "ie," punctuation omissions, and the use of such phrases as "ere long," "wiseacres," and the conclusion of a series: "editor, special writer, manuscript reader" with "and the like" are all typical of Dreiser. Personal details could have come only from him, such as the storage of the plates of *Sister Carrie* with a "friendly printing establishment" (J. F. Taylor who had hoped to re-issue *Sister Carrie* and publish *Jennie Gerhardt* in 1902), Dreiser's breakdown in 1902, and his employment with the New York Central Railroad. The profuse language of a large part of the article, particularly the last paragraph beginning "At last the fatal hour had struck," at first reading seems too lavish for Dreiser, but he could write extravagantly when he chose to do so.

Therefore, I conclude that Theodore Dreiser was the author of this elaborate piece of propaganda, perhaps at the request of B. W. Dodge; and the typist followed his written copy, preserving its errors (which we have not corrected in the printed text). Certainly this was Dreiser's copy, because on page 2 of the typescript, in the margin, in his hand, Dreiser identifies the junior members of the Doubleday firm who were involved with *Sister Carrie* in 1900.

SISTER CARRIE

It is not often in the history of literature that a book once having seen the light of day and apparently been ignored or passed over by the public, can either by the force of inherent worth or the utmost subtlety of effort on the part of the modern publisher be restored to the position of a new venture, and come again to the public as a new appeal. Books as a rule do not do this. They either get a hearing (in the first place) or they do not. If they do and the public is not interested, time can do little for them. If they do not (some failure in the distribution injuring them) they must have remarkable inherent merit if the world is sufficiently interested to bother about their recrudesence. Books are so commonplace. The novel is such a trite form of expression. If it does not "go" when it first "comes out" the average man is apt to say to himself "oh well" and let it go at that.

Occasionally, however, there is a book for which the ordinary conditions do not hold. It is a book, apparently like many which has not (we will say) had a fair hearing. The world passes on unaware of its being. But unlike the ordinary book it seems to have that in it which rises and commands attention. The accidental discoverer, finding it languishing in some forgotten corner, is seized by the power of its inherent worth and held spell bound. He cannot understand why so good a thing should rest unseen. Like the prospector who has found a jewel he will not rest until the precious thing is drawn from the shadow and cleaned and set anew before the world. He comes with his treasure anxious for all the world to know. And the world, responsive to worth, as it is to beauty, seizes upon his discovery and hails it for what it is, a thing to be prized and rejoiced over.

It is in connection with this truth that the story of "Sister Carrie" the novel written in 1899, in New York City, by Theodore Dreiser, of Terre Haute, Indiana, will provide a most significant illustration. Here is a book that in the Spring of 1900 was carried by the author to a well known publishing house in New York, and by him left personally in the hands of the head of the firm who promised to give it a quick reading. At that time the late Frank Norris, was a first reader of this firm, and to him this

work was turned over for immediate consideration. He took it home and read it but before he had gone three-quarters through had become so enthused that he was telling all whom he met of his wonderful discovery. The well known sea writer, Morgan Robertson, chancing into his office one morning he confided to him that he had found a masterpeice, and mentioning the name of the author he found that Robertson knew him. "Tell him when you see him what I think of it", he said. "I am writing him to call, I hope the house publishes it. It is a wonder".

Mr. Robertson an enthusiastic lover of life and literature himself so confided to the author and at the same time a letter came expressing for Mr. Norris his sincere appreciation of the authors ability. He also stated that he was commending the book heartily to his superiors and was reasonably well satisfied that they would want to bring it out.

A few more days passed and then came a second letter this time from a second reader of the firm, who while not so enthusiastic as his junior, Mr. Norris, affirmed his beleif in the power of the story, and added that he also would commend it for publication. Lastly came a letter from the junior partner of the firm,[9] who heartily agreed with Mr. Norris that the book was a great book and added that the firm would be pleased to publish it. Thereafter followed conferences and mutual congratulations, (a contract being immediately drawn up) and the fall of 1900 was fixed upon as the best time to bring it out. There was also some very sincere talk of a hearty campaign of publicity being indulged in and the author was thought to have established himself securely in the esteem of the American public and the literature loving population of the world.

Things are not always adjusted so smoothly as would seem probable. At the time that the minor figures in the firm were so enthusiastic and were entering into a contract with the author, the head of the firm, to whom the author had originally given the manuscript was in Europe. Later in July or August he returned and hearing of the excitement which the manuscript had in the office asked to be allowed to read it. He took it home and gave it to his wife first, who read it and at once conceived a violent dislike for it. It was in her estimation, so Mr. Norris reported, vulgar and immoral. She thought that it was the kind of literature which ought not be published. Her husband having secured this opinion also read it and agreed with her. The book according to him was not fit for publication, He did no like it. Furthermore he would not publish it; and this in the face of the contract entered into for his house by his associates.

It is needless to enter into the complication which followed, A difficult situation was created in which little tact and apparently less judgement was used to straighten out what might have been easily adjusted. The

author was notified in a very polite letter that the house did not want to bring out the book. The authors friends, and a portion of of the firm in whose keeping the book was, urged him to insist on his rights. The head of the firm, so this counsel ran was obstinate and arbitrary. He [did] not really dislike the book as much as he thought he did. Once it was put under way, and his money invested he would not want to see it rest. He would want his money back. The splendid notices the book would receive would stimulate his interest. It was on this account that the author mistakenly insisted on a fulfillment of the original agreement.

What followed was rather a coarse bit of commercial conduct, with however, considerable justification on both sides. The book was brought out. A thousand copies were printed. Some two or three hundred were distributed among editors and critics for review. Perhaps four hundred or a little more were put on sale in small lots in some leading stores throughout the country. The book was not advertised. It was not postered. No mention of it was made even in the catalogue of the firm from whose presses it eminated and although a product of the house, it was so completely ignored as though it had never been heard of. There was considerable evidence adduced at the time to show that even re-orders (where great critical approval created a demand) were ignored, and so the book fell flat.

It was not, however, as if no demand existed. The great critical approval which the book received, created a demand, but there was no effort made to satisfy it. In the face of these facts the book nevertheless held the interest of a large number of those who had been so fortunate as to read the original edition and this interest ere long bid fair to give it a new lease of life (if ever it should come into the rightful heritage of reasonable distribution). The Critics one and all, marvelled at its power, and not understanding the conditions which which surrounded its publication expressed astonishment at its fate. Why did it not sell? No one seems to know. Then by degrees some of the details of the story got abroad, and in the general interest which this created the book was held in affectionate memory by those who had been so heartily fascinated by it in the first place.

Distinguished critics and authors corresponded with one another about it. The wiseacres in critical and literary life were fond of referring to it as the great unrecognized work of American genius. It came to be a bond of agreement between certain literary individuals, and at last if you did not know about "Sister Carrie" it was a sign that you were lacking in that careful literary discrimination which marks the lover of true art.

While this was going on the plates of the book, purchased by the author in a round about way were resting in the secluded corners of a friendly

printing establishment, while the author himself went his way earning his living in various capacities as editor, special writer, manuscript reader and the like. In the fall of 1902 his health broke down and for several years he was compelled to work at various menial tasks, his art of writing having completely for saken him. For a time he was day laborer on the New York Central at fifteen cents an hour and a book publishers assistant at fifteen dollars a week.

Meanwhile the book lived in spite of its early demise. Publisher after publisher hearing of it took it up, read it, thought of the criticism made by the original publisher, thought of the difficulty of re-publishing a once published book, and retired timidly and gracefully. "If the author would write a second book—and make a success".

But the author was in no position or mood to write a second.

At last the fatal hour struck. The much maligned much berated book, was by its own inherent force slowly growing in the popular esteem. The fortunate possessors of the first few copies printed were loaning and re-loaning the same until finally a hearty company of admirers, having considerable influence were constantly talking of it. An occasional publisher ventured the beleif that it must someday come into its own. Even the original publisher, after having seen it rest unheralded commercially for seven years admitted that someday it might succeed. Then the B. W. Dodge Company seeking a novel that would lead them to a critical success and establish their prestige seized upon it, and it has now been given out in original form, with however finer material setting and with all those commercial details looked after, which maken for the proper distribution and sale of a work of so great importance.

This effusion did not contribute to the published brochure, here reproduced, announcing the re-publication of the novel by B. W. Dodge in 1907, but Dreiser supplied excerpts from letters from his scrapbook on *Sister Carrie* and from a clipping collection of paginated sheets with pasted-in newspaper and magazine reviews. Both the scrapbook and the clipping file are now in the Dreiser Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library. The quotations in the Dodge brochure are excerpts, sometimes edited, from letters and reviews; the sources and dates are listed below.

Page 2 of the brochure:

Wm. Heinemann. Letter to Doubleday, London, September 10, 1901. Scrapbook p. 48.

Grant Richards. Letter to Dreiser, London, July 8, 1903. Scrapbook p. 27.

Read what the English critics said of SISTER CARRIE if you want to be made to sit up and take notice.

*From Wm. Heinemann, Publisher, London.*

"SISTER CARRIE is, I think, without any doubt the best work recently published. I look upon Mr. Dreiser as an author of very exceptional merit; in fact, I feel quite convinced that America has not in our day produced a novelist who is his superior or a better book than SISTER CARRIE."

*From Grant Richards, Publisher, London.*

"SISTER CARRIE stands on my own book shelf with the half dozen books that I think the best work in fiction, whether English or American, that has appeared in the last ten years."

*From The London Academy.*

"More striking than the greatest of these successes ("Richard Carvel," "David Harum," etc.)—for popular successes are frequently scored by mediocre talents—is the fact that a young school of American writers is pressing for recognition, gifted with the sense of form, and not wanting either in pathos or in humor—real delineators of life and character. SISTER CARRIE is a calm, reasoned, realistic study of American life in Chicago and New York, absolutely free from the slightest trace of sentimentality or prettiness, and dominated everywhere by a serious and strenuous desire for truth. The book is thoroughly good, alike in accurate and synthetic observation, in human sympathy, in lyric appeal, and in dramatic power. If other novels are being written in the school of SISTER CARRIE, publishers will do well to bring them over here."

*From The London Spectator.*

"Unless we are greatly mistaken, the most successful and remarkable study in SISTER CARRIE is a figure which was not intended to occupy the central place. This post of honour was probably intended for the heroine, Caroline Meeber, a girl of blunted moral sense, who, through hatred of poverty, lapses into the relation of mistress to a commercial traveler, is subsequently persuaded by a trick to elope with another lover and finally becomes a great success as a comedy actress. She reaches this last stage only to find, however, that the dazzling position she has longed for all her life is as incapable of making her happy as any other phase of existence. But the really powerful study is the figure of Hurstwood, CARRIE's second lover. The picture of the sapping of the man's whole nature by the inertia which attacks him in his weary search for work is most subtly and strongly drawn. The reader follows each weakening struggle to its inevitable defeat with something of the sickening sensation which a real spectator must have felt; indeed, the whole situation is almost too poignant in its hopelessness. SISTER CARRIE, in short, is an engrossing book."

*From The London Athenæum.*

"There is now growing up in America a school of writers of talent to whom respect cannot be denied and whom we can no longer afford to ignore in England. SISTER CARRIE is a novel of solid merit and genuine documentary value and deserves success. Whilst large, dignified, and generous, the scheme of the story here told is not pretentious, or complex, or ambitious. It is a very plain tale of a plain though eventful life. Between its covers no single note of unreality is struck. It is untrammelled by any single concession to convention or tradition, literary or social. It is as compact of actuality as a police-court record, and throughout its pages one feels pulsing the sturdy, restless energy of a young people, a cosmopolitan community, a nation busy upon the hither side of maturity. The book is, firstly, the full, exhaustive story of the 'half-equipped little knight's' life and adventures; secondly, it is a broad, vivid picture of men and manners in middle-class New York and Chicago; and thirdly, it is a thorough and really masterly study of the moral, physical, and social deterioration of one Hurstwood, a lover of the heroine. Upon all these counts it is a creditable piece of work, faithful and rich in the interest which pertained to realistic fiction. It is further of interest by reason that it strikes a key-note and is typical in the wealth and diversity of its matter of the great country which gave it birth. Readers there are who, having perused the five hundred and odd pages which go to the making of SISTER CARRIE, will find permanent place upon their shelves for the book beside M. Zola's "Nana."

"At last a really strong novel has come from America; a novel great because of its relentless purpose, its power to compel emotion, its marvelous simplicity. SISTER CARRIE should make the book not of one but of many seasons. Mr. Dreiser has contrived a masterpiece. The life that CARRIE and HURSTWOOD lead together in New York is positively haunting. No quotation from the book would do justice to it for the story must be read as a whole."
—*London Daily Mail.*

"It is a story intensely clever in its realism, and one that will remain impressed on the memory of the reader for many a long day."
—*London Daily News.*

"The present reviewer interests himself deeply in American fiction, and declares unhesitatingly that while the first school (historical) will claim its hundred thousand readers, the second school (realistic) will have the approval of the artistically elect."
*London Daily Chronicle.*

"No one can read this admirable book without having learnt something not merely about this person or that, this class or the other, but about America. The movement in it is large, racial; the vision poetic and comprehensive; the sentiment is never sentimentality. Mr Dreiser is beyond question one of the most promising novelists now writing English."
—*The Fortnightly Review.*

## Read what American literary celebrities have to say:

Some of them heard of the book from the English edition, and wrote the author unsolicited. Others borrowed of the favored few who had copies. A few intimate friends of the author among the *literati* read the book in manuscript. It is with considerable pride that the publishers submit the following extracts from letters sent to Mr. Theodore Dreiser about "Sister Carrie."

"It is the best novel I have read in manuscript since I have been reading for the firm, and it pleases me as well as any novel I have read, published or otherwise."
—*Frank Norris.*

The late Frank Norris, author of "The Pit," read the book in manuscript at the request of a well-known American publisher, by whom he was occasionally employed as a special reader.

"Have just closed 'Sister Carrie' . . . It's a great presentation of an overshadowing truth, but what a rude shock it is for the patriotic American to wake up and be forced by Theodore Dreiser to admit that our national pretenses are now a sham—that we have here the economic and social conditions which produce Sister Carries."
—*Poultney Bigelow.*

"I was deeply impressed with the power and the verity of this book, which I vastly admired. Here is hoping you will do many books as good as 'Sister Carrie.'"
—*Hamlin Garland.*

"My copy of 'Sister Carrie' is almost worn to pieces. Frequently still I turn to it. The character of Hurstwood grows in power. It is a great creation."
—*Norman Duncan.*

"I cannot tell you how delighted I am to know that that splendid book of 'Sister Carrie' is to come out, and in a way to receive the consideration and appreciation it deserves, a consideration and appreciation, I wish to assure you, I give to it myself."
—*Brand Whitlock*, Author of "The 13th District" and present Mayor of Toledo.

"'Sister Carrie' is an extraordinarily interesting book, and the reading of it kept me up nearly all night, because I simply couldn't put it aside. It ought to have a very large sale, besides a lot of commendation."
—*Harry Thurston Peck.*

"Sister Carrie is a work of genius, and has a great stern moral, inculcated rather through common sense than namby-pamby sentimentalism. I have put it in my library in a corner devoted to favorite books."
—*George Horton*, Author of "Like Another Helen."

"A book which gripped the present writer with a force unequalled by any other American novel that has appeared within five years. There is more tonic value in it than a whole shelf full of sermons."
—*Frederic Taber Cooper*, in The May Bookman.

"It is a book very well worth reading, not so much for Carrie's story as for Hurstwood's. Into the account he gives of the downfall of the sleek, competent, good-natured manager of the big saloon, of his gradual and merited slide into squalid inefficiency and final starvation, the author has managed to put a strain of gloomy poetry, has succeeded in making one feel something of the sombre march of fate, in a narrative which moves both the intellect and the heart, a considerable achievement."
—*Harrison Rhodes*, in The May Bookman.

"I consider 'Sister Carrie' one of the most powerful delineations of American lower class city life. It is worthy of Zola, even of Balzac."
—*Albert Bigelow Paine.*

"Mrs. Allen and I have read 'Sister Carrie' and have been so impressed by the two principal persons in the story that we cannot go about the city without seeing Hurstwoods on many corners and Carries in many cabs.
—*Charles Dexter Allen.*

"It is by far the greatest American novel of recent years. For dramatic quality and art of writing, it deserves to rank with "Sir Richard Calmady" and in my opinion it is even more absorbing.
—*Morgan Robertson*, author of "Sinful Peck."

"A really remarkable book. In the early evening hours, with the intention of simply wandering aimlessly through it for perhaps half an hour, I scanned the opening chapters only to find myself entirely absorbed by it and held with a grip that few modern novels have ever given me. In the wee small hours of the morning I found myself finishing the story with reluctance and a subsequent reading of it simply has increased my high opinion of it. I believe there is a great big public waiting to know of this book."
—*Charles G. D. Roberts*, author of "The Kindred of the Wild."

"In this book I feel that Mr. Dreiser turned out a masterpiece that will equal "The Masquerader" for suspended interest and in popular appeal. There are few great modern American novels, and this is certainly one of them. It is the kind of book that once begun commands a complete reading at one sitting.
—*Broughton Brandenburg*, specialist on immigration, anarchistic and criminal types.

"A lady denounced 'Sister Carrie' to me at a dinner the other evening, simply because she had seen just such drummers as you have described doing just such things as you relate in your book, on the trains running in and out of Chicago. —*Wm. Marion Reedy*, Editor St. Louis Mirror.

"I have read the book several times and my first judgment has never wavered. It is a great piece of work. To me the book is the strongest, best, biggest novel of American life that so far has been printed."
—*Edna Kenton*, Author and Critic.

"I have just finished reading SISTER CARRIE for the second time and I feel impelled to write you what a great novel I think it is. I consider SISTER CARRIE the best novel written by an American since I have been watching books and the nearest approach to the often-heralded "Great American Novel." I am glad to be able to tell you that so general a reader and so competent a critic as Mr. Wallace Rice expressed himself in a conversation the other evening as sharing this opinion, and says it is the best American novel written in the last ten years. —*Eugene Katz*, The Critic, Chicago.

# A Bit of Literary History.

"SISTER CARRIE is a remarkable first novel, depicting the seamy side of life with an uncommon degree of sombre power, and handling certain aspects of the sex problem with the frank fearlessness which is the rightful privilege of a high order of talent. The author took the story to a well-known publishing house, where two readers of the firm, both of them authors of successful novels, reported enthusiastically in its favor. It was then read by a younger member of the firm, and the result was a flattering letter of acceptance. Shortly afterward the senior member of the firm, who had meanwhile returned from abroad, took the manuscript home one evening and gave it to his wife to read. Just what happened next it is difficult to discover. The American publisher has since been heard to say that he felt from the beginning that the book was bound to succeed sooner or later."

—*The Bookman.*

# IN REALM OF BOOKS

## American Novel Praised in English Reviews.

## "SISTER CARRIE" IS LIKED

### Foreign Approval Given Theodore Dreiser's Story.

*News item in Chicago Record Herald.*

Theodore Dreiser's SISTER CARRIE was accorded its first enthusiastic notice in America in this column. We called attention to its unusual qualities, characterizing it as a novel of extraordinary merit * * * * one of the big books and bespoke for it the serious attention of readers. English reviewers are giving the book a welcome after our own heart. In a way it is odd that the English should like the book, for it is distinctively an American product—characters, dialogues, settings and all. But it possesses some truly artistic qualities, and they give it the "Open Sesame" wherever English is read. So staid a review as the London Academy speaks glowingly of the book. In SISTER CARRIE it is freshness of observation that makes the work remarkable. Copying nobody's style, imitating nobody, but observing closely the life he saw around him, Mr. Dreiser has been able to put something new between the covers of a novel. He does not make it manifest to the reader, as do so many minor novelists, that he has come to his task of observing life with prejudices about what types should be. We cannot, for instance, say that CARRIE is like Becky Sharp. She is like CARRIE and like many other girls that come fresh from a small American town into an American city. As far as she corresponds with a type, it is a present day American type. So with Hurstwood, really the figure of the book, contrasted with whom CARRIE is merely a shadow, a contributory circumstance to his downfall. Hurstwood is the story.

*The London Academy*. Review of August 24, 1901. Clipping file p. 39.
*The London Spectator*. Review of August 24, 1901. Clipping file p. 38.
*The London Athenæum*. Review of September 7, 1901. Clipping file p. 47.

Page 3 of the brochure:

*London Daily Mail*. Review of September 8, 1901. Clipping file p. 49.
*London Daily News*. Review of August 20, 1901. Clipping file p. 43.
*London Daily Chronicle*. Review of August 26, 1901. Clipping file p. 37.
*The Fortnightly Review*. Not located.

Frank Norris. Letter to Dreiser, New York, May 28, 1900. Originally Scrapbook p. 34, now removed to Doubleday, Page correspondence file.

Poultney Bigelow. Excerpts from two undated letters to Dreiser. Scrapbook pp. 61 and 243.

Hamlin Garland. Letter to Dreiser [New York], January 3 [n.y.]. Scrapbook p. 242.

Norman Duncan. Letter to Dreiser, North East, Pennsylvania, January 5 [n.y.]. Scrapbook p. 54.

Brand Whitlock. Letter to Dreiser, Toledo, Ohio, May 2, 1907. Scrapbook p. 18.

Harry Thurston Peck. Quoted in a letter from F. M. Holly[10] to B. W. Dodge, New York, April 27, 1907. Scrapbook p. 185.

George Horton. Letter to Arthur Henry, Chicago, February 8, 1901. Scrapbook p. 151.

Frederic Taber Cooper. Quoted in a letter from F. M. Holly to B. W. Dodge, New York, April 27, 1907. Scrapbook p. 185.

Harrison Rhodes. Quoted in a letter from F. M. Holly to B. W. Dodge, New York, April 27, 1907. Scrapbook p. 185.

Albert Bigelow Paine. Quoted in a letter from F. M. Holly to B. W. Dodge, New York, May 4 [1907?]. Scrapbook p. 176.

Charles Dexter Allen. Letter to Dreiser, Brooklyn, December 30, 1906. Scrapbook p. 75.

Page 4 of the brochure:

The comments of Morgan Robertson, Charles G. D. Roberts, and Broughton Brandenburg are not located in the scrapbook. They may have been remarks solicited by William Heinemann for his 1901 edition of *Sister Carrie*.

William Marion Reedy. Letter to Dreiser, St. Louis, January 25, 1901. Scrapbook p. 95.

Edna Kenton. Letter to Dreiser, Chicago [n.d.]. Scrapbook p. 45.

Eugene Katz. Letter to Dreiser, Chicago, July 17, 1905. Scrapbook p. 46.

"A Bit of Literary History." *The Bookman* (New York), March, 1902. Not in the clipping file.

"IN REALM OF BOOKS." [Chicago *Record Herald*, n.d.] Clipping file p. 33.

## NOTES

1. Frank Norris's *McTeague* had been published the previous year by Doubleday & McClure, predecessors of Doubleday, Page, by whom Norris was now employed as a reader.
2. The scrapbook is 30.5×23×5.5 cm., quarter red leather on dark green cloth in straight-grain morocco pattern. There are 124 leaves of yellow machine-made paper.
3. William Marion Reedy (1862–1920) edited the weekly *Reedy's Mirror* in St. Louis from 1896 until his death. The influential periodical published many favorable reviews of Dreiser's books.
4. This and following page numbers in parentheses refer to the hand-numbered pages in the scrapbook.
5. The abridged edition of *Sister Carrie* was published in the Dollar Library series by William Heinemann in London, July 1901.
6. The B. W. Dodge edition of *Sister Carrie* was announced for May 18, 1907.
7. At the time Dreiser was editor of *The Delineator*.
8. As was done by Jack Salzman, in "The Publication of *Sister Carrie*: Fact and Fiction," *The Library Chronicle*, XXXIII (1967), 121.
9. At this point, in the margin of the typescript, Dreiser identifies in his hand "second reader of the firm" as "Henry Lanier son of Sydney Lanier the Poet," and "junior partner of the firm" as "Walter H. Page."
10. Flora Mai Holly, an early literary agent in New York, was acquainted with B. W. Dodge and was largely responsible for bringing Dreiser to the publisher's attention. She was Dreiser's literary agent up to the time of *The Financier* in 1912.

# John Paul Dreiser's Copy of *Sister Carrie*

JAMES L. W. WEST III

ONE of the 1900 Doubleday, Page, and Company first printings of *Sister Carrie* in the Rare Book Collection of the Van Pelt Library is so spectacular that Dr. Neda M. Westlake has dubbed it the "Oh, My!" copy. Outwardly there is nothing unusual about the book: it is bound in drab red bead-cloth and stamped in black—the same "assassin's edition" that Dorothy Dudley writes about in *Forgotten Frontiers*.[1] But when one opens the book, the reason for its "Oh, My!" sobriquet is immediately apparent. The recto of the front free endpaper bears this inscription in Dreiser's hand:

To my dear Father—with / a sort of inheritance / proviso by which I manage / to inscribe it also to / Mame and Austin / If any of you fail to read / and praise it the book / reverts to me. / With love (according to precedence) / Theodore.[2]

This inscription alone would make the copy special, but by turning a few pages one discovers that the text of this copy bears numerous revisions in Dreiser's hand. One immediately assumes that this is the copy in which he marked his post-publication second thoughts about *Sister Carrie*, the copy which represents his "final intentions" for the text of the novel. One is therefore disappointed to find that Dreiser's revisions do not extend through the entire text. Rather, they are confined to the first sixty-nine pages, that is, the first six chapters.

The "Oh, My!" copy came to the Rare Book Collection with Dreiser's other books and papers after his death. It must therefore have passed back into his hands at some point after he gave it to his father. But when? And assuming that Dreiser would not have presented a pencilled-up copy to his father, when did he mark these revisions in the book? And why did he stop revising after page 69? Little hard evidence exists to help in answering these questions, but by using those bits and pieces of information which do survive, and by engaging in some limited speculation, one can construct a working theory about the "Oh, My!" copy of *Sister Carrie*.

Doubleday, Page, and Company published the novel on November 8, 1900; Dreiser must have inscribed this copy and sent it to his father very soon thereafter. John Paul Dreiser was in poor health and was living with his daughter Mame and her husband, Austin Brennan, in Rochester, New York—hence Dreiser's presentation of the book jointly to his father and to his sister and brother-in-law. The elder Dreiser would have had very little time to read *Sister Carrie*, though; for he died on Christmas Day 1900, not quite seven weeks after publication of the novel.[3] One assumes that the playful conditions of the inscription were never actually carried out: surely neither Mame (Dreiser's favorite sister) nor her husband disliked the book and returned it to Theodore. It is also unlikely that the book remained in Mame's possession for the rest of her life and then passed to Theodore. Mame lived until 1944,[4] and though Dreiser (who died in 1946) would have been the logical person to get the book at her death, he would hardly have been making revisions in *Sister Carrie* so late in his career. It seems more likely that Mame gave the copy back to Dreiser long before she died, either when their father's personal effects were being divided after his death, or perhaps a few years after that.

There are several possible explanations for Dreiser's revisions in the copy. Many authors mark changes in their personal copies of their books whenever they re-read them; such copies, if they survive, become valuable textual artifacts. It is possible, then, that at some time after 1900 Dreiser was reading this copy of *Sister Carrie* and making changes as he went, but became distracted after chapter VI and never returned to the task. This explanation is possible but not especially likely. The changes marked in this copy are too careful and precise to have resulted from a casual re-reading.

It is more probable that Dreiser was revising with a particular purpose in mind. At some point in his career, he may have contemplated publishing a revised version of *Sister Carrie*. If a true new *edition* were in the offing—that is to say, if the text of the novel were to be freshly typeset from beginning to end—then Dreiser would have been free to change anything in his book. He could have made extensive stylistic revisions, and he could even have cut, added, and rearranged lengthy passages of text. But the revisions in the "Oh, My!" copy are not nearly this thoroughgoing. Rather, most of them are small

changes involving only a word or a phrase here and there. The character of these emendations indicates that Dreiser wanted to have them introduced into the existing plates of *Sister Carrie*. It is possible to make minor revisions in the already-cast plates of a book, and many authors do so, but the changes must be small because each rejected reading must be chiseled off the stereotype plate and the new type must be mortised in at that spot. The lines of text must remain justified, and if a word or phrase is cut, another of approximately equal length must be substituted in order to avoid extensive resetting. A passage can be removed at the end of a paragraph fairly easily, but lengthy excisions cannot be made at the beginning or middle of a paragraph without creating great difficulties for the printer. All of Dreiser's revisions in his father's copy are of a type which could easily have been made in the existing plates of *Sister Carrie*. Dreiser made only relatively small changes in wording, and in most cases he was careful to substitute new words to fill out the line and save the printer unnecessary resetting. Most of Dreiser's cuts were likewise made in such a way as to avoid the resetting of large blocks of text.

At some point after 1900, then, Dreiser must have learned of (or arranged for) a new impression of *Sister Carrie* and planned to make some changes in the plates before the printer ran off the sheets. But why did Dreiser stop revising after chapter VI? There are several possibilities: the anticipated re-impression might have been postponed or cancelled; Dreiser might have been distracted by a more pressing problem; or the proposed changes might have been too expensive for Dreiser or his publisher to make. One can think of numerous points in Dreiser's career when he might have wanted to change the plates —before the anticipated J. F. Taylor reprinting in 1902, before one of the B. W. Dodge impressions in 1907, before the Harper reprinting in 1912, and so on. Indeed, Dreiser could have contemplated making plate alterations before any one of the numerous reprintings of *Sister Carrie* that took place during his lifetime. The odds, however, would seem to favor either the B. W. Dodge or the Harper reprintings since Dreiser saw these as crucial opportunities to bring *Sister Carrie* back to the attention of the reading public.

From this limited evidence, one can reconstruct a probable scenario. In early November 1900 Dreiser inscribed and sent this copy of *Sister Carrie* to his father, John Paul, and to his sister and brother-

in-law. At John Paul Dreiser's death or soon thereafter, Mame returned the copy to Theodore. At some later time, perhaps before the 1907 or 1912 reprinting, Dreiser began marking plate revisions into this copy (having no other on hand) but abandoned the idea, either because the proposed reprinting of *Sister Carrie* fell through or because the plate changes would have been too costly.

This leaves us with the revisions themselves. Because they are minor changes made for a new impression rather than extensive revisions made for a new edition, they are not as important as one might wish, but they still deserve comment. Dreiser made these alterations with several specific purposes in mind. For one thing, he seems to have wanted to alter much of the colloquial phrasing in *Sister Carrie*. At 8.3, for instance, he changes "got out a letter from a bunch" to "took a letter from a number"; at 15.13 he cuts the phrase "winding up with" (in the sense of 'finishing'); at 45.20 he strikes through the verbal "tied down." At two other points (48.29 and 50.14) he lets slang words or expressions stand but encloses them within quotation marks as if to apologize for them. In making these changes, Dreiser was almost surely reacting to criticisms of his novel. The reader for Harper and Brothers had written in May 1900 that the typescript of *Sister Carrie* was "disfigured by . . . colloquialisms,"[5] and several reviewers of the published novel had criticized its style as too casual.[6]

Other changes in the "Oh, My!" copy are designed to introduce more precise wording. The reading "her whole nature" at 23.18 becomes "her depressed mood"; "such things" at 33.16 is altered to "morbid souls"; and "windows looked shiny and clean" at 38.26 is revised to "windows glistened and were clean." One set of changes is of particular interest; Dreiser substitutes other words for "gentleman" or "gentlemen" throughout the first six chapters. The businessmen described in these passages are obviously not "gentlemen" in the true sense, and so Dreiser shifts to "individuals" or "men." In so doing, however, he removes a special effect from his opening chapters. These scenes are described through Carrie's wide eyes as she searches for a job; from her naïve viewpoint the men she sees are indeed "gentlemen," simply because they wear suits, sit behind desks, and look important.

Two of the cuts deserve comment. At 16.13 Dreiser removes this awkward transitional sentence: "Before following her in her round

of seeking, let us look at the sphere in which her future was to lie." Certainly one must applaud the cut. But at 55.4, at the very end of chapter v, Dreiser removes the omniscient comment, "Thus was Carrie's name bandied about in the most frivolous and gay of places, and that also when the little toiler was bemoaning her narrow lot, which was almost inseparable from the early stages of this, her unfolding fate." The sentence is clumsy, to be sure, but it sets a tone and creates a mood of anticipation for the chapters which follow.

The "Oh, My!" copy presents a problem for an editor of a scholarly edition of *Sister Carrie*. Should Dreiser's revisions be incorporated into the established text of the novel? One could take a doctrinaire approach and argue that because these changes are in Dreiser's hand they must automatically be admitted into the text. But one cannot ignore the many unanswered questions that surround these revisions. We still do not know exactly when or why Dreiser began making them, nor do we know why he stopped making them at the end of chapter vi. It is entirely possible, for instance, that Dreiser looked back over the alterations he had made and decided that he was doing harm to his novel. And the changes themselves are of a mixed character. The revisions in phrasing at 23.18, 33.16, and 38.26 are good, and the cut at 16.13 is helpful; but the removal of colloquialisms, the alteration of "gentleman" to other forms, and the cut at 55.4 are all of doubtful value. An editor, however, cannot properly make such value judgments, accepting some of Dreiser's changes and rejecting others according to personal taste. An editor must instead develop a rationale for emendation based on the circumstances under which the revisions were made. In this case, however, we know almost nothing about those circumstances. Finally, if Dreiser's revisions were accepted in a critical text, the first six chapters of that text would be largely purged of colloquialisms while the remaining chapters would retain all colloquialisms intact. Certainly such a policy would not be acceptable.

Together these difficulties cast much doubt on the validity of Dreiser's revisions in the "Oh, My!" copy. No editor could admit these changes into a critical text without further information about them. The changes themselves, however, are of some interest and deserve to be made available, if only for the record. They show that Dreiser continued to think about the text of *Sister Carrie* after he had

published the novel, and they suggest that given the chance to revise fully for a new impression, he might well have changed the novel significantly.

### DREISER'S REVISIONS IN THE "OH, MY!" COPY

The table below records all changes marked by Dreiser in the text of his father's copy of *Sister Carrie*. The page-line reference for each entry refers to the pagination and lineation of the 1900 Doubleday, Page, and Company first edition. The initial reading in each entry is the rejected reading which is printed in that text. The rejected reading is followed by a right-pointing bracket which should be read as "changed to." The final reading is Dreiser's revised wording, marked by him in the "Oh, My!" copy. Below is an example:

2.14 light [ gleam

This entry indicates that at page 2, line 14, Dreiser marked out the word "light" and substituted the word "gleam." The revisions are rendered here exactly as they appear in the copy; two of the changes (at 4.11 and 10.3) are ungrammatical and are therefore marked [sic].

2.11 of expression possible in the [ of the
2.14 light [ gleam
3.32 looked upon him in full, [ looked at him,
4.11 wool, new at that time, but since become familiar as a business suit. [ wool, and new a business suit. [sic]
4.21 whole suit was rather tight-fitting, and was finished off with [ whole was rather tight-fitting, and finished with
4.28 most [ more
7.30 centre [ center
8.3 he got out a letter from a bunch [ he took a letter from a number
8.18 but the vague shadows [ but vague shadows
9.3 standing out [ standing
9.23 Sister Carrie [ Carrie
10.3 a little sick as her heart beat so fast. [ a little sick her heart beat fast. [sic]
13.27 Hanson had said [ Hanson said
15.13 severe, winding up with a "Very truly," [ severe, "Very truly,"
15.15 going in [ going to
15.21/22 *no space break* [ *space break*

16.13 Before following her in her round of seeking, let us look at the sphere in which her future was to lie. In 1889 [ In 1889
16.15 qualifications [ qualification
16.18 opportunities [ institutions
17.22 "nobby" [ well made
17.33 deteriorated into [ deteriorated to
20.33 gentleman [ individual
22.12 to get in. Some gentlemen [ to enter. Several men
22.24 stout gentleman came in [ individual entered
23.18 her whole nature [ her depressed mood
26.17 the door [ a door
26.26 stained in face [ stained as to face
29.12 gentleman [ individual
29.16 gentleman [ man
33.4 demeanour [ manner
33.14 man, this was rather a morbid turn of character, [ man, he was of a rather morbid turn,
33.15 it affected [ he affected
33.16 as such things are [ as morbid souls are
34.13 Thoughts are a strangely permeating factor. [ Thoughts are so strangely permeating.
34.14 the unspoken shade of disapproval to [ an unspoken shade of disapproval of
34.17 the mind of Hanson and then in Minnie [ the minds of Hanson and Minnie
35.17 the one stay [ the one force
35.18 silent on all else. [ silent as to all else.
35.21 add [ prove
36.33 then back along [ then west along
36.34 lined by the pretty houses [ lined with pretty houses
36.35 fine lawns which [ smooth lawns, a development which
37.9 call anyhow [ call
37.33 were remaining [ remained
38.19 a harbourage [ a harbour
38.21 but out in [ but in
38.26 windows looked shiny and clean [ windows glistened and were clean
38.30 as if with [ as with
38.32 Dread at [ Dread of
39.33 as a kind of [ as an
40.30 feelings [ mood

43.9 away in [ away to
45.20 keeping her tied down to [ keeping her to
47.3 was floating around [ was drifting about
48.6 gentlemen [ individuals
48.29 It was a truly swell saloon, with rich screens, fancy wines, and a line of bar goods unsurpassed in the country. [ It was a truly "swell" saloon, with rich screens, fancy wines, and an unsurpassed line of "bar goods."
50.14 go out and have a good time once in a while [ "go out and have a good time once in a while"
50.18 a neat house [ a comfortable house
50.20 upper class [ middle class
52.13 the picture [ a picture
*52.13 through 53.28 marked "out" in margin*
52.15 To one not inclined to drink, and gifted with a more serious turn of mind, such a bubbling, chattering, glittering chamber must ever seem an anomaly, a strange commentary on nature and life. [ A bubbling, chattering, glittering chamber. A strange commentary on nature and life.
52.18 Here come [ Here came
52.19 Such conversation as one may hear would not warrant a commendation [ Such conversation as one might have heard here would not have warranted commendation
52.22 seems [ seemed
52.25 may [ might
52.25 would scarcely be justified [ could scarcely have been justified
52.26 the majority of those who frequent these more gorgeous places have no craving [ the majority of those who frequented it and more gorgeous places of a related character had no craving
52.29 men gather, here chatter, here love [ men gathered, here chattered, here loved
52.30 must be [ could be
52.30 grounds. It must be that a strange bundle of passions and vague desires give rise to such a curious social institution or it would not be. [ grounds.
53.3 of the [ of a
53.4 they [ its patrons
53.6 The worst effect of such a thing would be, perhaps, to stir up [ The worst effect of such an institution, perhaps, would be
53.9 splendid [ ornate
53.9 would [ could

53.10 rather of the [ rather of an
53.16 there would not be one to gainsay the qualities of beauty and enthusiasm which would remain. [ there would not have been one to gainsay the qualities of beauty and enthusiasm remaining.
53.30 gentleman [ man
53.31 red as with good eating. [ red.
53.34 direction by a cast of his eye, [ direction with a glance,
54.17 the popular [ a popular
55.4 out. ¶ Thus was Carrie's name bandied about in the most frivolous and gay of places, and that also when the little toiler was bemoaning her narrow lot, which was almost inseparable from the early stages of this, her unfolding fate. [ out.
62.30 who [ yet who
64.10 Her clothes were nothing suitable for fall wearing. [ Her clothes were not suitable for fall.
64.11 money she had spent [ money had been spent
65.1 saw something different. [ saw that something was wrong.
65.16 the window [ a window
69.32 a great arm had slipped out before her to draw off trouble. [ a great arm had slipped about her to ward off trouble.

## NOTES

1. *Forgotten Frontiers: Dreiser and the Land of the Free* (New York, 1932), p. 183.
2. The inscription is reproduced in facsimile in the catalogue *Theodore Dreiser: Centenary Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. iv.
3. See W. A. Swanberg, *Dreiser* (New York, 1965), p. 94.
4. Swanberg, p. 502.
5. The reader report is published in *Letters of Theodore Dreiser: a Selection*, 3 vols., ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), 1, 210n.
6. The following reviews (the first two untitled) all mention Dreiser's colloquial style or his use of slang: *Syracuse Post-Standard*, February 1901; *The Interior*, February 21, 1901; "Among the New Books," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 25, 1901; "Sister Carrie," *Newark* (N.J.) *Sunday News*, September 1, 1901; "New Novels," *Manchester Guardian*, August 14, 1901; "Fiction: Sister Carrie," *Academy*, August 24, 1901; [Theodore Watts-Dunton], "New Novels: Sister Carrie," *Athenæum*, September 7, 1901. These reviews are republished in *Theodore Dreiser: the Critical Reception*, ed. Jack Salzman (New York, 1972).

# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE


*Rittenhouse Orrery*

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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VOLUME XLIV · WINTER 1980 · NUMBER 2



Published semiannually by the Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library. Subscription rate, $10.00 for non-members. § Articles and notes of bibliographic and bibliophile interest are invited. Contributions should be submitted to William E. Miller, Editor, *The Library Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

# A Descriptive Catalogue of the Indic and Greater Indic Manuscripts in the Collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT*

## PREFACE

THE Indic manuscript collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania contains manuscripts, documents, and manuscript covers under forty-seven accession numbers. Many of these accession numbers contain more than one manuscript or fragments of more than one manuscript, however. The number of manuscripts represented in the collection is forty-three, not counting two Burmese picture manuscripts, eight Burmese birth certificates, two letters—one from eastern India and one from northern Burma—a number of woodblock-printed charms from Tibet which are sewn together, a Sinhalese syllabary and assorted small pieces of palm leaves giving such items as the numerals for Sinhalese script, assorted fragments of Sanskrit texts from south India, which are strung together, and two unattached manuscript covers from Nepal and Burma. The number of texts or sections of texts contained in the forty-three manuscripts is sixty-eight, though there perhaps may be more, as will be explained below in discussing the Lao dialect manuscripts from Thailand. The larger number of texts or sections of texts is a result of the tendency to include more than one text, often related but not necessarily so, in a single manuscript. Thus one Sinhalese manuscript (M19) contains several magico-religious texts, forming a small compendium, while a north Indian manuscript (M4) contains two lengthy poetic compositions unrelated to one another.

Most of the manuscripts in the collection are from Greater India, ten of the accession numbers representing material from India (mainly southern India), two material from Nepal, five material from Tibet, ten material from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), six material from Burma, and fifteen material from Thailand (mainly northern Thailand). There is one extra accession number in this list, since one accession number represents material from both southern India and Burma.

* New York City.

The Museum obtained these manuscripts mainly in the early part of this century. They have not been catalogued up to this time, however, and, with three exceptions, were not included in Horace I. Poleman's *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, American Oriental Series, vol. 12 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1938). In the instance of the three exceptions, they were listed as unidentified.[1] They have, therefore, remained in effect inaccessible to scholars. They are now shelved with the University of Pennsylvania Library's large Indic manuscript collection in the W. Norman Brown South Asian Reference Library on the fifth floor of the Dietrich Library.[2]

There are a number of interesting features in the Museum collection, some of which might be indicated here briefly. One is the presence in the collection of a manuscript (M4) which contains a rare copy of a text on *rājanīti*, the duty of rulers (kings), by a Senāpati. This is probably not the Senāpati who was the author of the *Kavitta Ratnakar* and the *Kavya Kalpadrum*, but rather a member of the entourage of Guru Govindasinha. (See Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, Kāśī, *Hastalikhita Hindī Pustakoṃ kā Saṃkṣipta Vivaraṇa*, vol. 2 [Kāśī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 2021 (A.D. 1964–1965)], p. 589.) With this is a text of the *Rukmaṇimaṅgala* by Rāmalalā, to which are added a number of verses by various Hindi poets such as Sūrdās and Kabīr.

The manuscript in which these two texts are found is itself very interesting since it contains a signature, "Lady William Bentinck," which, if authentic, would be that of the wife of the Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835.

Another matter of interest is the presence in one of the Sinhalese manuscripts (M27) of a text in Pali and Sinhalese titled *Upāsakamanussavinaya varṇṇanā*, 'A Description of Rules for the Laity.' In the context of recent discussions, such as that of James P. McDermott, "Nibbāna as a Reward for Kamma," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 93 (1973), 344–347, which describe the absence of material in Buddhist literature on the laity, and in the context of recent discussions in Buddhist countries themselves, this text takes on importance.

Still another text of unusual interest is a Tibetan illuminated manuscript (M13) which deals with the lineage of the liberation of Avalokiteśvara, treating the former births of Padma Sambhāva, the person who is credited with having brought Buddhism to Tibet. This manuscript is not listed in any of the Tibetan manuscript catalogues consulted.

Of interest from a different point of view is a part of a Thai elementary reading lesson book which teaches Thai in the traditional manner and which contains stories which are most delightful.

The number of texts dealing with topics of contemporary anthropolog-

ical import (M6; M8A; M17; M19A–D; M20; M27A, G, H, L; M28; M30; M31; M34) lends strength to the collection.

Of particular importance is the collection of Lao dialectical material from northern Thailand. No such material is listed in Poleman's *Census*, which makes it probable that it is unique in the United States and Canada. The significance of this material lies partly in the fact that there are not just one or two such manuscripts in the collection but sixteen, covering eleven accession numbers and representing wide variations in script.

Also of importance is the presence in the collection of two fine manuscripts in *Nandināgarī* script. Poleman's *Census* does not note any manuscripts in this script. This makes it probable that these also are unique in the United States and Canada.

As the catalogue will demonstrate, the collection is a mine for the study of paleography and the techniques of scribes in the various countries concerned, and amply represents the types of manuscripts that one comes upon in India and Greater India. Little scholarly work, it might be noted, has been done on Indic and Greater Indic paleography and scribal techniques.

The form of the entries in the catalogue is essentially the same as that used by me in cataloguing the Indic manuscripts in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library with a few modifications necessitated by a clear presentation of the contents of the Museum material. First comes accession number, then language, title, author, category, number of folios (including folio numbers or syllables and whether or not the text lacks beginning or end), number of lines per folio, material, size in centimeters, script, manuscript date, scribe, condition, and comments—which include a detailed physical description of the manuscript and notes of interest regarding the text. Added to this, however, has been the name of the donor and any information regarding the acquisition of the manuscript that can be gleaned from the Museum's records, the beginning of the text, the end of the text and, when present, the colophon. In a number of cases changes in this procedure became necessary. For example, in the case of single palm leaves, it was believed to be enough just to give the beginning of the text on the recto of the leaf. When a manuscript contains more than one text, the relevant data for those sections of text are deleted from the main description and placed in the sectional description. Also, in the specifics placed under the rubric "category," I have taken greater liberties than in the cataloguing of the Library collection so as to describe more accurately the contents of the manuscripts.

A dash after any entry, rather than the statement, "Not given," indicates that the rubric is not relevant to the text in question or that it has been

impossible to determine whether that material is in the manuscript or not. Syllables or consonants which could not be read are represented by a dot in brackets, [.]. A slash (/) is used to indicate the end of one physical line of text and the beginning of another.

The systems of transliteration used are mainly those of the Library of Congress Service as represented in their Bulletins 64, 76, 88, and 90. Certain scripts present in the collection, however, are not represented in these bulletins. These are Lao *tham*, *yuon* and *lu*, Khmer *mūl* and Shan scripts. Other systems of transliteration, therefore, had to be settled on. For the Lao scripts, the system used here is that of Louis Finot as given in "Recherches sur la litterature laotienne," in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 17 (1917), 5, pp. 21–39. For Khmer *mūl* script the system used is that given by Georges Maspero in Charles Fossey, ed., *Notices sur les charactères étrangers anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1927), pp. 237–245. For Shan script the system used is that of Sao Saimong of the University of Michigan, who did the transliteration.

Most Sinhalese and Southeast Asian manuscripts, I must note here, order their folios with syllables in alphabetic order, beginning with *ka*, and continuing through the vowel series for the consonant '*k*,' then adding the *anusvāra* and the *visarga* to the initial vowel in that order. The number of vowels used for any given manuscript, however, sometimes varies with the vowels of the language the text is in or with the region from which the text comes. Thus a series of folios in different areas may not contain the same number of folios. Similarly the consonant ordering may not always be the same. Because of these points some confusion might arise in the mind of the reader who tries to understand why it is that a Sinhalese manuscript of seventeen folios is lettered *ka-kha* (*ka*, *kā*, *ki*, *kī*, *ku*, *kū*, *kṛ*, *kṝ*, *kḷ*, *kḹ*, *ke*, *kai*, *ko*, *kau*, *kaṃ*, *kaḥ*, *kha*), while a complete Lao manuscript of seventeen folios is lettered *ga-nu* (*ga*, *gā*, *gi*, *gī*, *gu*, *gū*, *ge*, *gê*, *gai*, *go*, *gaṃ*, *gaḥ*, *na*, *nā*, *ni*, *nī*, *nu*). The Lao manuscripts, incidentally, were very abundant in different lettering systems, and in one case a Sinhalese manuscript displayed a system of lettering beginning with vowels without consonants. Usually, the pagination appears on the verso of the folios, but there are occasional instances in the collection in which the pagination is on the recto.

The Lao dialect manuscripts represented a special problem in the cataloguing since it was impossible to make contact with someone from northern Thailand who knew both the language and the script. Not knowing the language myself, and faced with certain peculiarities preserved in the script, I found it impossible to catalogue most of these manuscripts as fully as the other manuscripts. I therefore settled on the solution of providing the reader with as much information as I could about the manuscripts in

the "comments" sections, locating the colophons, when possible, or noting if none appeared to be present. I hope to be able to provide fuller cataloguing at a later date. These manuscripts may represent more texts than would appear at first sight here.

A catalogue of this nature is, of course, the responsibility of a number of people. No one person could know all that is necessary to describe properly material in thirteen or more languages and in sixteen scripts. I therefore owe a debt of appreciation and deeply felt thanks to a large number of people who expended considerable time and energy in helping make this work possible. These include Dr. Swatantra Pidara for help with the Hindi material, Mr. Sujit Purkayastha for help with the Bengali material, Drs. Shanmugam Pillai and Andiappa Pillai for help with the Tamil material, Drs. Clifford Jones and Ludo Rocher for help with the Sanskrit material, Mrs. Joan Kutcher, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, for help with the Tibetan material, Mr. Amaradasa Virasinha, also a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania but in the Folklore Department, for help with the Sinhalese and Pali material, Dr. Hwin Shu and Mr. U Khin for help with the Burmese material, Sao Saimong of the University of Michigan for help with the Shan material, Miss Tippy Tantiwong for help with the Thai material, and Mr. Kem Sos for help with the Khmer material. Many others have also been of help during the course of the project; I would like to thank them at this time also, with the hope that they will recognize that it would be impossible to list them individually.

The project was funded in the main by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, and was given constant encouragement by one of the Library's Associate Directors, Mr. Bernard Ford. If any one person is responsible for making this catalogue possible it is he, and therefore we all owe him a great amount of appreciation.

The photographs accompanying this article were made possible by a grant to me for photographic equipment from the American Philosophical Society. Although the equipment was granted for other purposes, the timing of the grant was fortuitous in that I was able to use the equipment for this catalogue as well.

## NOTES

1. The relevant correspondences between Poleman's numbers and the manuscripts listed here are: Poleman 5478 (unclassified Sanskrit) = M19 (Sinhalese, Malayalam and/or Tamil, and Sanskrit); Poleman 6653 (unidentified Sinhalese) = M26 (Pali and Sinhalese); Poleman 7236 (unidentified Telugu) = M10 (Telugu). My statement that these are the only three of the University Museum's manuscripts that are in any way referred to in Poleman's *Census* is based on my having gone through Poleman entry by entry during the course of recataloguing the Library's Indic manuscript collection in 1971–1972, and on a careful rechecking of Poleman's listings.
2. Editor's Note: Since the preparation of this catalogue both the Library's Indic manuscript collection and this collection have been moved to the Rare Book area of the Van Pelt Library.
3. It is difficult to determine whether this is the end of the text proper, or rather a number of invocations inserted by a scribe after the end of the text but before the final colophon. As invocations such as "*ōm ma ni pad me hūm*" do occur within the text proper, we have decided to give here the end of the physical manuscript just before the folio with the final colophon.

# Indic and Greater Indic Manuscripts

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## INDIA

### M1.

*Accession number:* 73-14-18
*Language:* Sanskrit
*Title: Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*
*Author:* —
*Category: Veda*
*Number of folios:* 156 ff.; ff.[1]–148 + 8 unnumbered ff.
*Number of lines:* 8–10
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 34.9cm. × 5.2cm.
*Script: Nandināgarī*
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Mr. Jesse H. Holmes, Jr., 1973

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Blank area, generally roundish, around each hole. Larger area around left lateral hole than right. The left hole itself has been worn larger on all folios. Except for f.1 this does not interfere with the text. Black powder rubbed into incisions, except on f.1 and on the last eight unnumbered folios. Those folios without the black powder cannot be read due to the coloration of the fronds. The folios appear old and stained, but are generally in good condition. F.81 has been broken in half and sewn together with a few stitches of string. Two-thirds of f.1 is missing. A few folios only are badly chipped, destroying parts of text. Edges of folios have been stained, but most of the stain has worn off. After the *brāhmaṇa*, on f.148 recto, there is the *Mahāvrata*. F.148 verso is blank. On f.1 recto there appears to be an index. The last eight folios appear to contain a number of prayers and one somewhat lengthy text. Stained wooden covers.

*Final colophon: hariḥ 385. ity aitareyabrāhmaṇe samapaṃ cikāyā[?]śamodhyāyaḥ. śrīgurubhyo namaḥ. . . .* (f.148 recto, bottom) *hari 390. śrīkṛṣṇārpaṇam astu. śrīnaṃjaṃ[?]eśvarāya namaḥ. śrīvedavyāsa namaḥ./samāptam brāhmaṇaṃ. śrīnaṃ[?]eśārpaṇam astu.*

*Text begins on f.2 recto in 1.1.3: naṃtatsvāṃ prapādayaṃti. tasmāt dhruvād yoner āste ca carati ca. tasmād dhruvād yoner garbhādhiyaṃte ca pra ca jāyante. tasmād...*

*Text ends on bottom of f.147 verso: . . . jāgriyā devāpi ha yad yasyāśma mūrdhā dviṣan bhavati. kṣipraṃ haivainaṃ stṛṇute/stṛṇute.* 28

M2.

*Accession number:* 73-14-19
*Language:* Sanskrit
*Title: Rāmāyaṇa. Kāṇḍas* 1–4.
*Author:* —
*Category:* Epic
*Number of folios:* 223 ff.; ff.[1, 2], 3, 1–4, 2 ff. unnumbered, 5–214, 2 ff. unnumbered, + 2 ff. blank.
*Number of lines:* 9–12
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 45.7cm. × 5.5cm.
*Script: Nandināgarī*
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good–excellent
*Donor:* Mr. Jesse H. Holmes, Jr., 1973

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with drawstring. Blank area, generally roundish but on occasional folios square, around lateral holes. Black powder rubbed into incisions on all folios except first two and seventh, making these impossible to read now. Seventh folio (numbered 4) has only one line of text on it. Unevenness of coloration of many folios. Text generally very clear. Despite the irregularity of the numbers in the beginning of the manuscript the text seems to be continuous. A few marginal comments, some not blackened in. Edges of folios stained, with stain wearing off only slightly. Ff.1 and 2 are fragmentary, only about two-thirds of each being left. They were probably smaller than the other folios of the manuscript. The left lateral holes on them and on the folio following have been worn larger, interfering with the text on the first two but not on the folio following. A few chips off edges of first full sized folio and last few folios, interfering with text only slightly. Stained wooden covers. Written on front cover in *Devanāgarī* script in black ink is "*śrīgurubhyo nam,*" and pasted on cover is a piece of white paper reading "Ramayana."

*Final colophon: iti pūrvasargārthāḥ.*

*Text begins on f.3 recto:*
*yeva nirmitā* 20

*sarvalahaṇasaṃpaṇnā nāriṇām uttamā vadhuḥ*
*sītāpy anugatā rāmaṃ śaśinaṃ rohiṇī yathā* 21

*Text ends: kiṣkiṇdhāṃ prāptavān tatra kapidārātiḥ sahā taradvājāśramaṃ prāptavān tatra dirthatvā bharatasamīpaṃ prati hanumaṃ taṃ preṣitavān tatra ttaratā hūtaḥ saṃn namdigrāmaṃ āgata/vān tatasarvāṇn saṃmānya puṣpakṣaṃ kuberasya preṣagām āsa. tatra sarvair marṃtrarttaḥ purohitaṃ sāk[?]ādvendra ivarārājā . . .*

M3.

*Accession number:* 47-12-2
*Language:* Sanskrit (?)
*Title:* —
*Author:* —
*Category:* —
*Number of folios:* See comments.
*Number of lines:* 4–9
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* Roughly 16.2/18cm. × 3.2/3.9cm. See comments.
*Script: Grantha* script, in several hands
*MS. date:* See comments.
*Condition:* Very poor.
*Donor:* Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, 1947

*Comments:* The manuscript, as constituted here, seems to be a composite of scraps from many manuscripts written at different times and in different hands. While all of the folios fall into the dimensions given above, it appears that many have been broken in half from manuscripts twice the width given. Having right and/or left margins broken off is the rule, and sometimes even the upper and lower edges of the folios are chipped. In many places worm holes have destroyed part of the text. From the worm holes it can be seen that the present arrangement of the folios is rather recent. All the folios are strung on a tie cord through one lateral hole. Those leaves which have been broken in half would have had originally two lateral holes. Given the nature of the manuscript, it is useless to try to count the number of folios.

M4.

*Accession number:* 20061
*Category:* Poetry
*Number of folios:* 69 ff.; ff.1–32, 1–37—+ 10 blank unnumbered ff.
*Number of lines:* 8–10, generally 9
*Material:* Paper
*Size:* 17.8cm. × 14.6cm.
*Script:* Variant *Nāgarī* script
*MS. date:* 3rd day in the month of *Hāṛi* in *Saṃvat* 1858
*Scribe:* Lārepāce, son of Sahibrāj, grandson of Rahimat
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Dr. Max Uhle, 1897

*Comments:* Manuscript bound in book form in tooled leather with design on front and back cover. Leather colored red. Gold leaf used for part of design. Flap on right hand side of manuscript comes from back to close around the front. The front and back covers are now separate from the pages of the book. On the bottom of the spine there is pasted a piece of paper that reads, "Marathi MS." Written upside down on the last lined folio is the signature, "Lady William Bentinck." On the verso of the folio following this there is a list in two columns. Both manuscript and cover have worm holes, but these do not interfere with reading the text. Double *daṇḍas*, parts of colophons, names of sections, and occasional refrains are in red. Mistakes covered over with red. Five lines, alternating red and black, are ruled to the right and left of the text. The lines for the text itself are ruled in black, and continue for three and one-half folios after all text has ended. The text often continues, usually for a few words only, into the outer margins of the folios, running from either top to bottom or bottom to top. Colophons in Rajasthani.

Section A.

*Title:* Braj translation of aphorisms by Cāṇakya on *rājanīti*, or the conduct of kings (=*Cāṇakya-śāstra* ?)

*Language:* Hindi (Braj)
*Author:* Senāpati
*Number of folios:* 32 ff.; ff.1–32

*Comments:* For the probable identification of the text as the *Cāṇakyaśāstra* of Senāpati who was a member of the entourage of Govindasiṇha, see Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, Kāśī, *Hastalikhita Hindī Pustakoṃ kā Saṃkṣipta Vivaraṇa*, vol. 2 (Kāsī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 2021 [A.D. 1964–1965]), p. 589.

*Colophon: ayau oṃ 5. pothī likhī lāre/pāce nāi sahibrāj ke beṭe nāi rahimat kā/pothā vatanī āulīyāpur kā kika/rāḷavāḷā. saṃvat 1858 miti hāṛi sudī 3 bārichani charabāri kādin / sapūraṇa hoī. paṭiyāḷe bica havelī / apaṇī bica likhī mahalā ja ṭākā. bhā/u sameke arajāṃ. gahū 2½, dhule 4½, / mūgī 3½, muṭha 4, guḍa 1¾ + 2, sakar ½ + 2, / chāu ¼ + 1, tel ½ + 7, ṭake 21 + 25, pake / 16, pothī likāī seḍhmal khatrī nāi / najībābādī nāi gumāstā biṃdarāba/n bhavānīdās kā.*

*Text begins:*
*oṃ sirīgaṇesāi nahi mahipothī rājinīta / kī likhate.*
*paraṇavati ho sirībiraṃma ke*
*jo / triloka ko rāi*
*cāṇaka ke bhākhā karāuṃ /*
*jo tuma kara ho sahāi*

*bahusāsitra traba/loka ke*
*suṃdara bacana nikāri*
*rājinī/ta sabahūṃ kaho*
*baranana karāu bicāri*
*oṃ cha/pāi—*
*jo vahi sāsitra paṛāi*
*so nara catratā ka/hāvāi*

*Text ends:*
*caupāī—*
*bīṇā bī/ṇī manamatha eka*
*caṃdana bāṃmaṇa caṃda babi/ki*
*arya khaḍga khatrī ikajāti*
*gyānī / gyāni harajana haravāti*
*dohā—*
*sāsatra sakala / becāra kāi*
*mathakāḍhyo yahi sāri*
*nārāṃyāiṇa bhajīe sadā*
*karīyāi para upakāri /*
*guragubiṃda kī sabhā māi*
*lekhaka parama su/jāni*
*cāṃṇāke bhākhā karī*
*kaba sāinā/pati nāmi*

Section B.

*Title: Rukmaṇimaṃgala* *Author:* Rāmalalā
*Language:* Hindi *Number of folios:* 37 ff.; ff.1–37

*Comments:* At end of text of *Rukmaṇimaṃgala* there are added a number of verses by Kabīr, Senābhāga, Sūrdās, etc.

*Colophon: pothī likhatāu / rukmaṇīmaṃgala kī. lārepāce nāi li/khī. likhāī seḍhmil khatrī nāi vatanī keka/rāḷekā. pācā saṃvat 1858 mitī hāṛi sudi / sapūraṇa ho īkādasī vāle / din din āitbār. /*

*Text begins:*
*likhatāu rukmaṇīmaṃgaḷa saṃvat 1833 / mitī phaguṇa sudī 4.*
*devagirī rāga—*
*nigama jāko ne/tagāṃvāi*
*dhyāna siva aru āṃ nahīṃ*
*āda / aṃta praviramajū ke*
*bhagatanī kājāṃna hī /*

*Text ends:*

*rāga gāurī /—*

. . .

*lahaṇnā apanā pāīe*
*hāī / kuī bhūlāman samūjhāvāī*
*yahi mana apano ā/pa syārathī*
*chūṭā hātha na āvai*
*hāī kuī bhula /*
*khoṭe dāṇma gāṭha lio ḍorāī*
*achī achī / vasata muhi lāvāī*
*bovāī bhaṃbūla dākha phala / cāhāī*
*kachu kāīse kara pāvāī*
*hāī kuī bhulā /*
*yahi māyā le āūdhāī rākho*
*raṃcaka jāṇma na pā/vāīṃ*
*kāli kaṃṭha jaba āṃna gahai go*
*kara ka/ra sāīna batāvai*
*hāī koī bhūlā*
*girahi sāī dūra dū/ra sāī nerāī*
*bhāva bina bhagata kahāvāī*
*kahita / kaṃbīr suī gura merā*
*nīke harajasa gāvāī /*
*hāī kuī bhūlāman samūjhāvāī*

M5.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Hindi, with a direction in Bengali
*Title:* Letter, in envelope, recording business transaction, and found between the front pages of MS.M4
*Category:* Documents
*Number of leaves:* 1 + envelope
*Number of lines:* See comments.
*Material:* Paper
*Size of letter:* 10.3cm. × 26.2cm.
*Size of envelope:* 11.5cm × 5.3cm.
*Script:* Mahājanī script, with Bengali in Bengali script
*MS. date:* Māganāsa 1967 (A.D. 1910–1911)
*Writer:* —
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* The letter and envelope are both on thin blue paper, that of the envelope being slightly thicker. The envelope is fashioned by hand and has "*oṃ*" (?) written again and again along the seams. There are two faint postmarks on the back of the envelope which are too faint to read except for part of the date on one of them: "27 Nov." The envelope has some

brown stains on it. On the front of the envelope there are three lines of text in *Mahājanī* script and two lines in Bengali script, the latter stating that the letter should be delivered and a reply should be brought back. The date of the letter appears at the top of it in a small hand, and is followed by five lines in the same small hand. There then follow fourteen lines on the recto and four lines on the verso in a larger hand, probably written by the same person. The text on the verso is difficult to read.

*Text in larger hand begins: śrīgu bābā sādbā vacaḥ vabā/bā māta śrīdinābādaḥ katāḥ esadar / sā kalākatār batājāe.*

*Text in larger hand on recto ends: lākhānya / bhātā śrīdhanbād ekāḥ 10 śrīdi/nābāra bādhavāra.*

M6.

*Accession number:* 15880a
*Language:* Tamil
*Title:* [*Verrivēṟkai*] *Vettivēṟkai*
*Author:* Ativīr Rāma Pāṇṭiyar
*Category:* Moral maxims
*Number of folios:* 2 ff.; ff.4–5 recto. Lacks beginning.
*Number of lines:* 4–6
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 38.5cm. × 3.3cm.
*Script:* Tamil script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Fair–poor
*Donor:* Selma C. Smith, 1893

*Comments:* Each frond is doubled over. The manuscript is laid out with three columns on each side of a folio. A lateral hole, worn out so that it cuts into part of the text on f.4 recto and verso, runs between the first and second column. The right side of the folios is chipped off, removing small portions of text on f.4 recto and verso. The doubling over of the fronds, the spelling mistakes, and the contemporary usage of the text combine to indicate that perhaps the manuscript is a child's school exercise.

*Colophon: ivai kāṇ ulakiṟk iyalāmāṟē vettivēṟkai murriṟṟu.*

*Text on f.4 begins:*
*uṭuttai vāṭai koṭi yāka*
*muṭitta kūntal virippiṉum virippar—*

*Text ends:*
*vaḷiyē yēkuka*
*vaḷiyē mīḷuka—*

M7.

*Accession number:* 29-132-1b
*Language:* Tamil
*Title: Maturai vīraṉ ammaṉai*
*Author:* Mīṇāṭcicuntaram
*Category:* Folk literature
*Number of folios:* 120 ff.; cover folio + ff.1–119.
*Material:* Palm leaves
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Number of lines:* 4–5
*Size:* 47.8±cm. × 2.8 to 3.3cm.
*Script:* Tamil script
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Mrs. Thomas Leaming, 1918

*Comments:* One lateral hole about one-third of way from left edge, with tie cord. Text written in two columns with last syllable of each line spaced away from the rest of the line and written one above the other. Black powder not rubbed in on all folios. Cover folio at end. First folio in bad state of repair. A few folios in the text proper are broken off on the right or left edge, destroying a few syllables of text. Written in ink on cover folio at end: "Rev. A. C. Halsey. A Hindoo [?] book of [song (?)]." The manuscript begins with prayers to Kaṇapati, Caṇmukaṉ and other deities.

*Final colophon: mīṇāṭcicuntaram maturai vīraṉ ammaṉai mukintatu muṟṟum.*

*Text begins:*
*munti piṟantoṉe mūttoṉai kait toḻuvēṉ*
*kaṇapatiyai nokki kaiya toḻuvēn ammāṉai*
. . .
(*f.3 recto, line 2*)
*yeṭutavañumala yeḷutāṇi cāyāmal*
*neñcil accaracupati nicceyamāy tān irukka*

*Text ends:*
*pādiṉṟum peṟṟu peṟu vāḷavu vāḷandirippār*
*kēṭṭōr paṭittōrkaḷ kiḷaikaḷum tāṉvāḷī*

M8.

*Accession number:* 15880b
*Donor:* Selma C. Smith, 1893

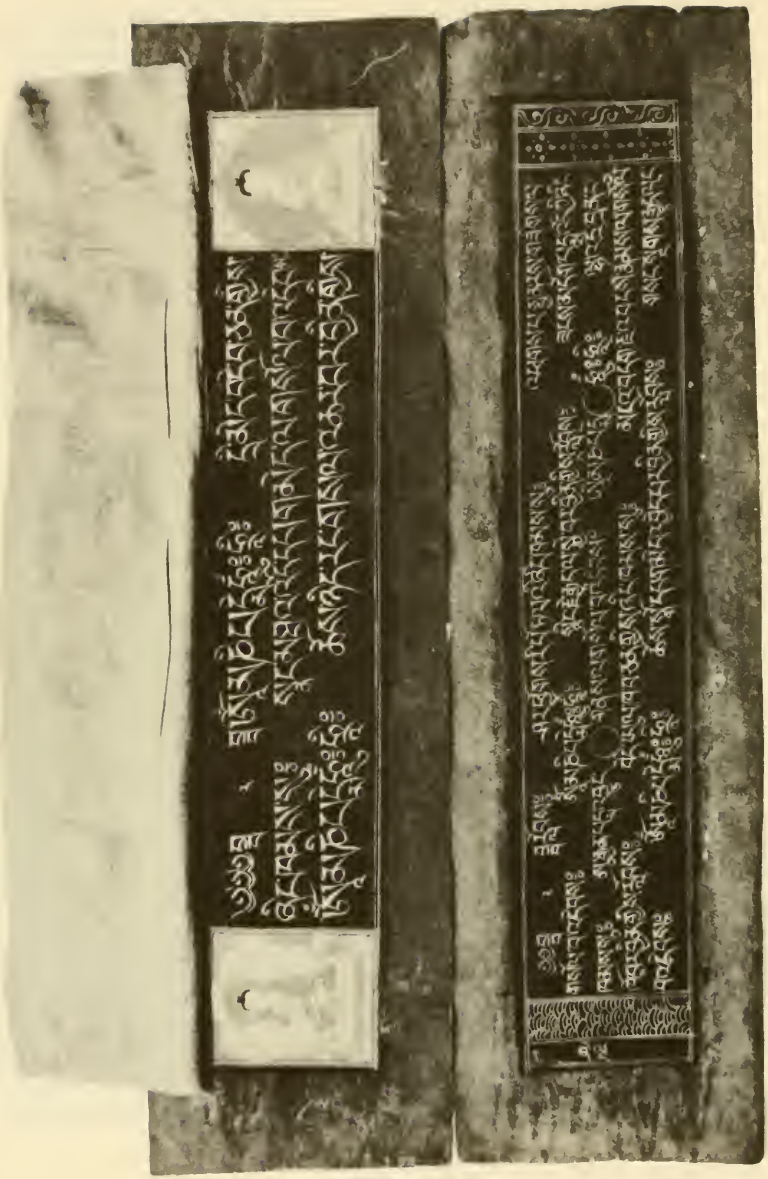
Section A.

*Title:* Unidentified questions and answers on worshipping an image of Śiva
*Author:* Unidentified
*Category:* Religious law; catechism
*Number of folios:* 1 f.; f.3. Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 3–4
*Material:* Palm leaf
*Size:* 40.6cm. × 2.6cm.
*Script:* Tamil script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent

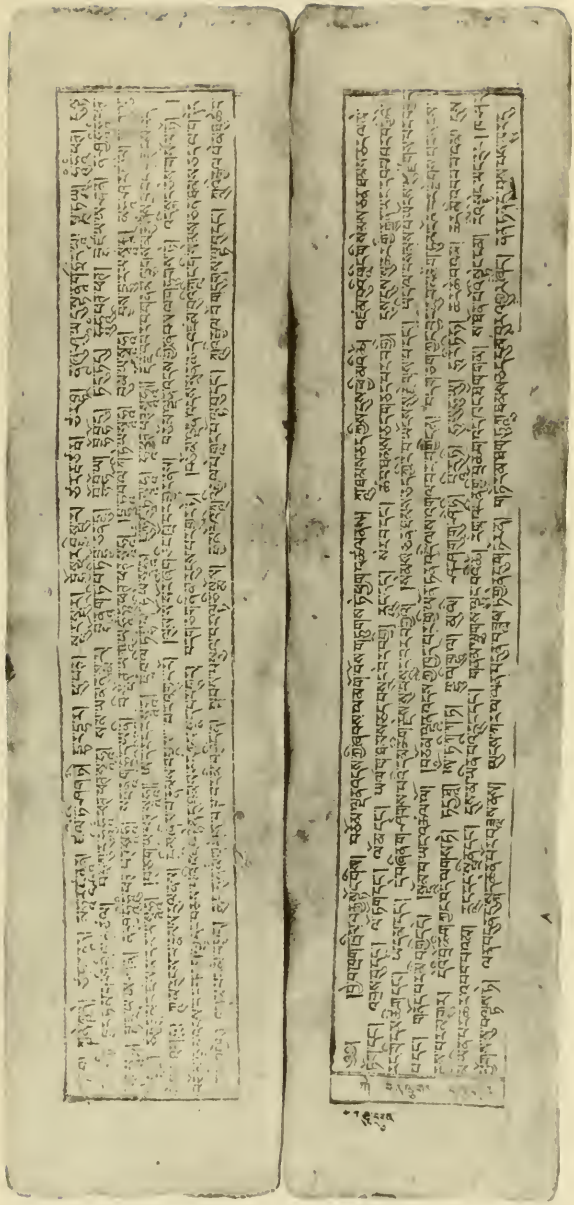
Manuscript M4

Manuscript M9

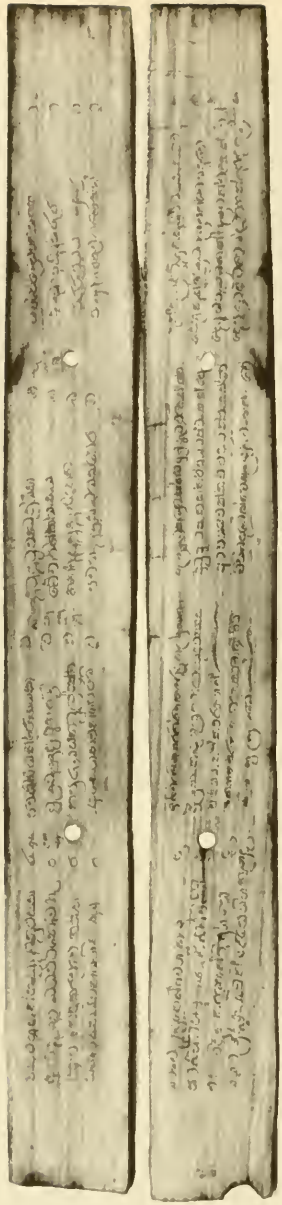
Manuscript M11



Manuscript M13

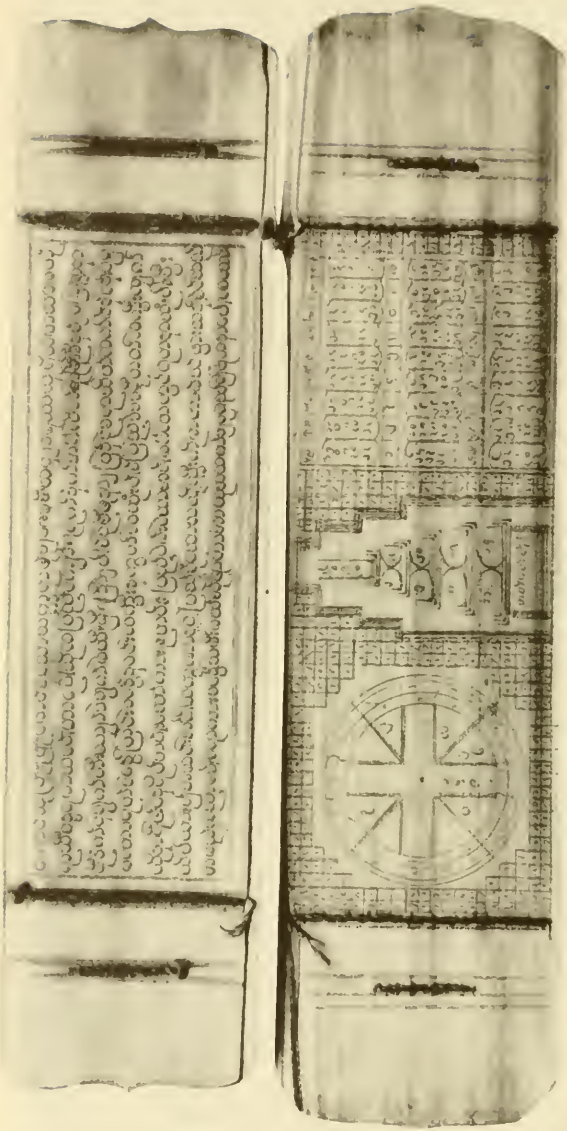


Manuscript M15

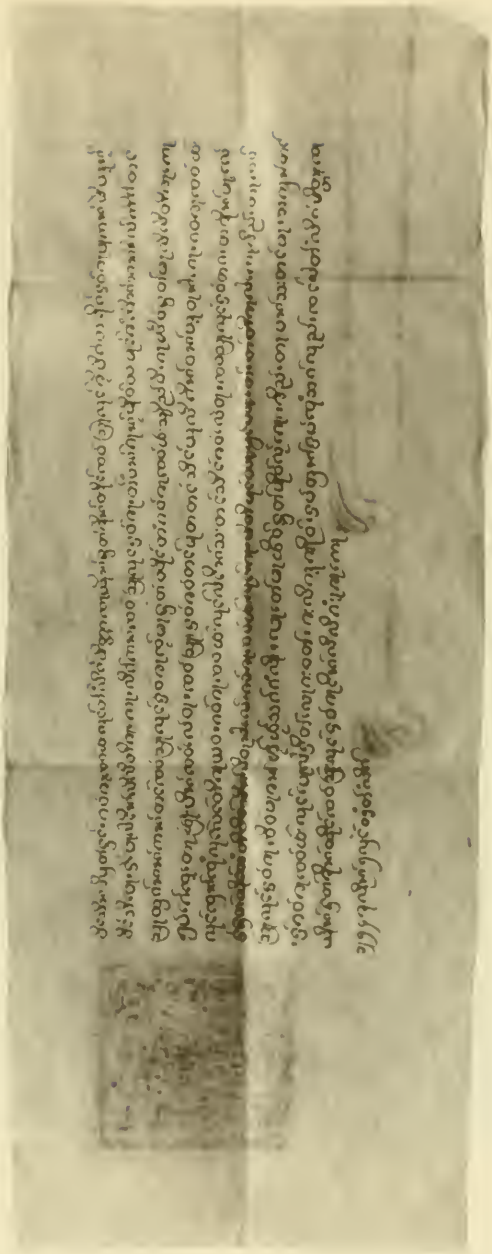


Manuscript M20

Section of cover of manuscript M23



Two certificates of manuscript M28



Manuscript M29

เรื่องความนี้กล่าวไนกม ชื่อว่าเยาม ท่านมหิกัมสัมมะชน จบบท
หนึ่ง ๆ นั่งปุมกงาม หมเต้ยอัมกกม ไปกามจักความกามท่าเปียม
เจ้ากรมก็นะมนั่งพรมเจียม กูงามสงเยียม นั่งเปียมหนักกาจำกิน
เกกนอนผ้าอ่อนนุ่มนิ่ม กินขนมปกาจริม กรันอิ่มแล้วกิ่มน้อน

หลุมที่ลุมเขากินกม นั่กถ้วมเลนกม ดักนั่ไส่กุมเปียมเกม ทั่ยกิน
เกิดวิมนั่เกม ต้นเรมกันเขม มะกุมสุกหอมงอมงาม กะทุมมะกุม
กุมมะขาม มรุมจักกม เหลกซ่อมมิงาม่ส่องสามคม กกหนามมีกกพัม
อย่ากินส้ม จีมักจักกรม ระบมหนองขวมน่วมไป เป็นหวัดมักกามกระ

แอมไอ ทุมยกมกมไก้ แลไม้เปนเหลียมกะเทียมหอม ขิ่นเหลกม
แขมผมแลกนผอม ก่ำแพงปีข้อม สักังล้อมไว้รอบเมืองกงาม ขอ
น้ำกำกัฟกำมกรม แกงผักไหมหนาม ย่ำยามให้กามไกมพร้อม กน
เก้นั่งเฝ้ากะท่อม จักกอกสนกัอม ปะลอมไพก่แฟ้มแขมริม

จะเจ้าแกมแย้มอิ้ม หนังสือนี้ดีกิม ฝนกกหยิม ๆ พริ้ม ๆ ท่าน
กมจบสิ้นจงจำ อย่าให้ลืมคำ ที่ทำเรื่องกลจนสรุปกวาม บท
ใกสงไสยให้กาม กรุจักบอกกวาม ไปตั้งแต่กันาเกย
๑ จบบทนิยัง เรื่องกมแล ๑๐

Manuscript M33

*Comments:* The manuscript is laid out with three columns on each side of the folio. There is a lateral hole between the first and second column.

*Text on f.3 recto begins:*
15. *viṉā iraṇṭāṉ kaṭṭaviḷayin*
*poruḷ enna.*
*viṭai vikakiṟa kaṉkaḷai vaittu va*
*ṇaṅka kūṭā teṉpatē.*

*Text on f.3 verso ends:*
19. *viṉā nāṉkāṉ kaṭṭaḷaiyiṉ poru*
*ḷ eṉṉa.*

(For Sections B and C of M8, accession number 15880b, see entries under BURMA.)

M9.

*Accession number:* 47-12-1
*Language:* Tamil
*Number of folios:* 33 ff.; ff.1–20, ff.1–13
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 24.2cm. × 4.3cm.
*Script:* Tamil script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Donor:* Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, 1947

*Comments:* The leaves of the manuscripts themselves are in excellent condition. They are riddled with worm holes, though, destroying much text. The situation is much worse in Section A of the manuscript than in Section B. There is also some staining of the manuscript in a few places which makes reading the lettering, which is very small, extremely difficult. Omitted letters are written in above the line in their proper places between the flanking letters. When too numerous, their notation begins at this point. Section A contains a few brief Sanskrit statements as to the general topic of the text at given points in the left margin; these are in Tamil script. Briefly, the text is concerned with the teaching of *yoga* and religious secrets. At the beginning of Section B, in the left margin, is the word "*upaniṭam.*"

Section A.

*Title:* *Vākkiya campiratayam*
*Author:* Kuru Pārampariyamuñā
*Category:* Philosophy, commentary
*Number of folios:* 20 ff.; ff.1–20
*Number of lines:* 12–16
*Condition:* Fair

*Colophon: piṉṉivarukkup puṣaparkirisuvāmi ye/ṉṟu nāmantarittu nīr pōy gōdāvariyile comalaikkantattile mācamā yiruntu yinta cantāṉa / paripālam paṇṇikkoṇ-*

*ṭirum eṉṟu cukayiccaiyile yeḷantaḷi yintār cuvāmi neṭunā/ṭ comalaik kanttatile eḷuntaruḷi yirundār avarukkup/piṉ cāndokkiyacuvāmi yavarukkuppiṉ piravāneṟi yavarukkuppiṉṉ irayaṭutavar avarukkuppiṉ caiyoccuvāmi yavarukkuppi/ṉ tēvaketi yavarakkuppiṉ piramāṉantacuvāmi yavarukkuppiṉ amurtān antacuvāmi yavarukkuppiṉ cavu/pākkiyacuvāmi yavarukkuppiṉ cēṉavākkiyar yavarrukkuppiṉ vayintavāṉantacuvāmi yeṉṟaṟika vākkiya campiratayamum inta[.] casttiratālārum. kuru pārampariyamuñā collappaṭṭutu vākkiyacampirataya muṟṟum.*

*Text begins: śrī kailāsattile yeḷuntaruḷi yirukkap paṭṭa teṭcaṇāmūrtti pahavāṉ iṉatu. anukkira / katiṉāle caṉaṟkumāra avaruṭaya cīṣaṉ attirimakāviṣi avaruṭayacīṣaṉ aṭi cāya / kai yilār . . .*

*Text ends: iṣṭṭaiyile neṭunāl iruntuk kaṇṇai viḷittup pārttār samātiyile kaṇṭap poruḷai tire sorupikarittu niṉṟārpolak kuruvai yetiriṭṭut / tericittār. caṟṟe yiḷaip pāṟi yiruntap piṉpu kuruvaip pusaipaṇṇi uṭal poruḷ āvi muṉṟum tettampaṇṇiṉār.*

## Section B.

*Title:* Unidentified commentary on an unidentified *upaniṣad*
*Author:* Cōrupananta (?)
*Category: Upaniṣad*, commentary

*Number of folios:* 13 ff.; ff.1–13
*Number of lines:* 14–16
*Condition:* Good

*Colophon: taṉayoruvaḷi yeṉṉāṉ kariyaruḷ akattil iruntu raitta vaticayam evvaticayamaṟṟaṟkileṉ enātu / mayakkattai nivirtti pannuñ catura vettatil uṇṭāṉa vupaniṭa tamup pattiraṇṭiṉum uṇṭā/ṟutaiyattile maruṭci yakalumpaṭi yaḷuttit tamiḷ eṉṟu sollappaṭṭak kaviyiṉālov vatticayamo teriya paṭukileṉṉ eṉṟavāṟu cōrupāṉanta vuraya muṟṟum. kurucaraṇam.*

*Text begins: meyyuṭaya vaṭiyār mēl* [stain] *kāṟupura viḷakkup poleyuḷa poyyuṭaya virul akaṟṟum.*

*Text ends: . . . 32 yinta muppattiraṇṭu ceyyuḷum upaniṭatat tatam irul akaṟṟum nāl vētatt upaniṭattēṉa nāñkum eñkon conna poruḷ ataṉai nencakatte savupākkiya kuru veṉṉum poruḷiṉoṭum aruḷ akaṟṟumpaṭi yaḷuttit tamiḷ pōlum.*

## M10.

*Accession number:* 29-132-1a
*Language:* Telugu
*Title:* [*Bhāgavatapurāṇamu*] *Śrīmahābhāgavatamu. Skandhamu 10, pūrvabhāgamu* and *uttarabhāgamu.*
*Author:* —

*Translator:* Pōtana
*Category: Purāṇa*
*Number of folios:* 245 ff.; 235 ff., preceded by 4 blank ff. and followed by 6 blank ff. The last 3 numbered ff. are blank.
*Number of lines:* 6–7

*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 42.8cm. × 3.4cm.
*Script:* Telugu script
*Scribe:* Papayya, son of Ādityavāsaraṃsari āmantya Bucci Veṃkayyagari
*MS. date:* The tenth day in the *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* of the month of Āṣāda in the year (*saṃvatsara*) Vikāri (=33rd year in Bṛhaspati's cycle of 60 years)
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Mrs. Thomas Leaming, 1918

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord and one wooden peg. The original owner of the manuscript, for whom it was copied, was named Kaśivilaṃka Subbārāyudu. In the left margin of f.1 are the invocations, '*śubham astū. avighnam astu,*' and the *skandha* number, '*daśamaskaṃdhaṃ.*' Compare text with that of Venkata Ramanayya, Bulusu, ed., *Śrī Mahā Bhāgavatamu* (Hyderabad, 1962).

*Final colophon: nīlācalanivāsāya paramātma nēnu bhadrāprāṇanādāya śrībugaṃnnādāyamaṃgalam. śrī śrī śrī / śrī śrī.* [.]*yunū. yādṛśaṃ pustakam dṛṣṭvā tādṛśaṃ likhitam mayā. prabaṃthaṃ vvā subadhaṃ vvā mama dōṣōna vidyate. kṛṣṇavāsudevakeśavaparamātma apramēyavaruda harimukuṃda / mimimujūḍagaṃtu mīkṛpaganugoṃṭu akhilānākhyapadavulaṃdagaṃṭṭu vikāri saṃvvatsara āṣāḍa kṛṣṇa 10 ādityavāsaraṃsari kumārudu papayya śrīmahābhāgavatambunaṃdu / daśamaskaṃdhamu pūrvōttarabhāgamulu saṃpūnnamugā reḍnaṃdarmānāyakunigari pratini cūcivrāśi śrīrukmiṇīsatyabhāmāsamēta śrīrādākṛṣṇāppaṇṇamugā kaśivilaṃka subbārāyudugarki vrasi/yiccenu. śrīlakṣmīnārāyaṇōpyaṇam astu. śrīrukmiṇī . . .*

*Text begins: śrīkaṃṭhacāpakhaṃḍana. pākāripramukharinutabhaṃḍana. vilasa . . .*

*Text ends: midhilā nagaraṃbuna sṛtadeva janakula yoddikiṃbunuṭayunu, sṛtagītalunu vṛkōpākhyānṃbunu, īrimūrtiviparikṣitaṃbunu, mṛtabrāhmaṇa pṛtṛlaṃdechuṭayunanuka dāvṛ/ttāṃtaṃbuna daśamaskaṃdhaṃbunanuttarabhāgaṃbuna śrīkāśvāsamu.*

## NEPAL

### M11.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Sanskrit
*Title: Paramārthanāmasaṃgīti*
*Author:* —
*Category:* Non-canonical Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 35 ff. + 2 cover ff.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Cardboard
*Size:* 23.8cm. × 9cm.
*Script:* Newārī script
*Scribe:* Triratnamunibūddhacārya
*MS. date:* Nepal *saṃvat* 973 (Nepal saṃvat begins in 880 A.D.)
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Folios in accordion style on very heavy cardboard with first and last folios once cut so as to form an ornamented box. There are a few remains of this box construction on the bottom folio, otherwise torn, with a section missing, and in bad condition. In many places adhesive tape has been used to reinforce the cardboard at the folds. Three illuminations in red, two shades of blue, white, tan, brown, yellow, green, black, and pink at beginning of text proper ( = *atha vajadharaḥ . . .*) on ff.2 and 3, one covering the entire verso of f.2. Folios colored yellow, with orange border. The yellow is wearing off on parts of some folios. Dirt, often giving a white appearance, is ingrained on some folios. Red is painted in over invocations at beginning of text proper, over colophons, over many *visargas*, and over occasional ornamental devices on the lines proper, which appear usually after colophons. Horizontal lines have been scored with red for the purpose of writing in straight lines, and two vertical lines in black have been scored on both the right and left of the text on each folio. The verso of the last folio with text, the following three folios, and the recto of the last folio (ff.31 verso–35 recto) have these lines scored on them though the text has ended on f.31 recto. (On f.35 recto, however, someone has added, in pencil, a lengthy note in *Devanāgarī* script.) F.13 recto has also been prepared in this way, but it was skipped over in writing the text and instead it has been crossed through in black with double lines. Occasionally red dots, or just wash, have been applied in the space between the two double black lines to the right and left of the text. There are a few marginal additions of omitted letters. Mistakes have been surrounded by many small dots. Folios not numbered. Writing in *Devanāgarī* script, in pencil, also appears on what is now left of the top cover. This piece of cardboard is in good condition when compared with that of the bottom cover, which displays the remains of the box construction. For purposes of comparison of text, and for a brief note on the contents of the text, see Rājendralāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882), pp. 175–176.

*Final colophon: ā/ryyamāyājālaṣḍaśasahaśrīlokāmahāryogatantāpatarāt samādhijāra/patarād bhagavantatathāgataśākyamūṇibhāṣitā bhagavantamañjuśrījñāna/satyasya paramartho nāma saṃgītiparisamāptaḥ. ye dhammāṃ hetu prabhā/bhāvaḥ hetu teṣāṃ tathāgataḥ hy avadars teṣāṃ kṣeyo nirodha. evaṃ vādhi mahāsramaṇaḥ. / yasau dharmmaṃ sūgata kathitaṃ pathe te bhakti bhāvāt mātrāhīnaṃ. katham a/pi padaṃ pāthagāthākṣakaraṃ vājijvādoyau pravaṇacaritau śleṣyadoṣapracārāt / yūyaṃ būddhāsvabhuvaṇaparagataṃ satvakṣamadhāṃ+ḥ. oṃ pūṃṇyapūṃ/ṇyamahāpūṃṇya aparamitapūṇya aparamitāyo pūṇyajñānasaṃbhalo pracinto. / oṃ sarvassa kārapaliśuddha dharma te gagaṇa samurgante*

*svabhāvaviśuddhe mānya/parivārye svāhāḥ. oṃ namo buddhāyaḥ. oṃ namo dharmmāyaḥ. oṃ namo saṃghāyaḥ. / namo namaḥ. śuddhaṃ vā aśuddhaṃ vā mama doṣa na diyateḥ. / saṃvat 973 [mti] vaisākhamāsya śukrapakṣa tritiyā budhavāra juraśubha pūna likhitaṃ khopadesayā triratnamunibūddhacāryena coyājuraśubhaḥ / °thanāmasaṃgītī gya[śma]syaṃ śucitūyānā[śma]yāta anūtrāyāṃ saṃmyak saṃbūdhapa/dalākaḥ ([?])thūgudharmmany/apalayā cudāmaṇi śuryaṃ hramahārājājāputāyadhe / dānapatinyapālaśuvarṇṇapadāni mahānagare vasistaprajāpatiheman yātacoyāviyāśubhaḥ.*

*Text begins: oṃ namo buddhāya gurūve. nama dharmāya tāraṇe. nama saṃghāya. mahattame na/ma. ye devā sānta merau varakanakamaye maṇḍale ye ca jakṣāṃ pātāle je / bhujaṃgāsphaṇimaṇikiraṇai dhvastasarvādhakārā kailāśe strīvilā/śe pramūditahṛdayā je ca vidyādharendrāste mokṣadvāra bhūtaṃ mūnī/varavacanaṃ śrotum āyānit sarve. . . . oṃ namo mañjanāthāyaḥ.*

*atha vajadharaḥ srī/mān dūrdvāntadamakaḥ paraḥ*
*trai/lokyavijayi vilo guhyarāṭ kū/liseśvaraḥ* 1
*vibūdha/puṇḍalīkākṣaḥ protphūlakamarānanaḥ*
*prollārayaḥ / vajavala svakareṇan mūhūmūhūḥ* 2

*Text ends:*

*gambhīrodāravipuloḥ mahārthajagarddathakṛt+ḥ*
*būddānāṃ viṣaryo hyaṣaḥ saṃmyak saṃ/būrddhabhākhitaḥ* 5
*iti ḍapasaṃhārajñānagāthāpakṣeḥ.*

M12.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered

*Item:* Painted wooden cover, with lower side broken off. The top of the cover is red bordered by black with a modest yellow floral device and a thin yellow line. The underside of the cover depicts a scene with three figures, two doing reverence to the deity in the center. The scene is bordered by red. The background is green. The colors used in the scene are black, two shades of green, several shades of red, lavender, yellow, white, pink, and blue.

*Present size:* 21cm. × 8.2/8.4cm.

*Donor:* Unknown

M13.

*Accession number:* 32-47-26
*Language:* Tibetan
*Title:* *'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dban phyug 'khor 'das ran grol gyis rgyud bźugs sho*
*Authors:* dge slon ri chen, tshe rin and dpal 'byor
*Category:* Non-canonical Buddhist; the lineage of the liberation of Avalokiteśvara, treating the former births of Padma Sambhava
*Number of folios:* 223 ff., 2 ff. unnumbered; ff.1–48, 1–34[a], 34[b]–163[a], 163[b]–176; with numbers 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 on one folio in the second foliation, with one folio which should be numbered 73[b] missing and with numbers 141 and 142 on the same folio.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Locally made paper of excellent quality
*Size:* 54.7cm.×14.8cm.
*Script:* Tibetan *dbu can* script, with one invocation in both *dbu can* and *dbu med* scripts, and others in a script imitative of Tibetan *lan dzā* script. See comments.
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* —?—. Possibly purchased in 1932. Collected by Gordon Bowles.

*Comments:* Folios colored black. Writing in white, with occasional lines, words or groups of words in yellow. Areas for holes for tie cord indicated by red circles, two on each folio side. Bordering devices in red. Red design around sectional titles and title of work, each of which titles stands alone on the recto of its respective folio. Lacquer has been applied to the text area on each folio. The first two folios and the last folio consist of a number of leaves tied together with red ribbon. General title folio and each sectional folio has on its verso two illuminations flanking text on each side. The illuminations are in red, pink, green, orange, yellow, blue, gold, black, and off-white. The names of the figures depicted are in yellow under each illumination. Some of these are difficult to read as they are often smudged. Each of these folios is covered with patterned red silk which, being attached to the top of the folios only, can be lifted up in order to see the covered areas. The general title folio has in addition a piece of green silk covering the patterned red silk. The sectional title folios have only three lines of text on them. The general title folio has only one major line on it, below which there are a number of invocations written in a much smaller hand. Occasionally the folio immediately following the first of each sec-

tion has less than five lines on a side. On the bottom of the next to last folio verso, in red, in both *dbu med* and *dbu can* scripts, is the invocation, "*kar ma pa mkhyen no.*" Three pull cloths are sewn with thread onto the recto of the first sectional title folio, one of them reading, "*hi 'khor 'das ran grol.*" The main invocation on the general title folio, in large red-bordered gold letters, is in a script imitative of *lan dzā* script. Initial invocation on first sectional folio also in such a script. On the bottom and top of the text, along the edges, are two sets of three notches with the areas between the notches colored red and yellow. One such set of three notches, similarly colored, is on both the right and left edges of the manuscript. Two heavy wooden covers, painted red and over this black, with the black paint wearing off. Design carved on one end of each cover.

*Final colophon: bba yom swa sti. no mtshar rmad byun chos sku snan mtha' yas. no mtshar ran 'byun lon shug thug rjes che. no mtshar dban źugs sprul sku pad ma 'byun. no mtshar 'dren mchog gsum la gtsug gis mchod. kyi sprul sku źin / khams ñer lna brtsegs ba'i dbus bcu gsum pa la mi 'jed 'jig rten chags. bcom ldan thub pa'i bsten pa rgyal mtshen btsugs, rgyal khams 'grol ba'i mgon po pad 'byun bstod. gī bźi glin phran mud chud lcags ri bcas. / nan nas sans rgyas byon pa'i glin mchog na[.] wan dag rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas thub dban gis srod la bdud btul gon la mñam par bźag thos rans mnon par rdzogs par sans rgyas so. lho phyogs 'dzam glin lte ba rdo rje gdan. byan phyog kha ba can gyis ljon 'di ru rgyal ba / bstan[.] bstan pa'i dam chos char 'bebs ni bod yul dbu su chos kyis bstan pa da[.] kyi sgon bźi mchog gyur ston tshar rab sgan na smod phyog dgos 'dod kun 'byan u rgyan phun tshog dan dge slon ri chen dan tse rin dpal 'byor gsum 'khor 'das ran grol bźens bsam ni bka' gros / mdzad bka' gros mthun ni 'khor 'das ran grol bris. bris pa'i phan yon la rten nas drin che pha ma gris kyi dge ba'i rtsa la bsno'o.*

*Sectional titles:*

1. *gu ru ppm'i mthon grol sel gyi mlon gi [.]bu phyogs lags sho*
2. *u rgyan skyes rabs rnam thar ton gyis me lon bźugs sho*
3. *thugs rje chen po 'khor 'das ran grol gyis gsol 'debs bźugs sho*
4. *'phags pa thugs rje chen po 'khor 'das ran grol gyis bsgrubs thabs che ga chen mo bźugs sho*
5. —
6. *'phags pa thugs rje chen po 'khor 'das ran grol gyis dban gi lo rgyus bźugs sho*

*Text begins: . . . bdzra gu ru dhe ba dha ki ni hūm. / bla ma yi dam mkha gro gsum la phyag 'tshal lo.*

*Text ends*[3]*: ches sogs nas rgyas gdab bsdo ba / smon lam bkra śis rjes su bris par bya'o 'dis kyan stan pa dan sems can la phan thogs rgya chen po 'byun bar gyur chig. / ōm. ki źra ri mum. ōm ma ni pad me hūm. hī. bdzra ghu ru pad ma si de dha h[ū/ī]m. ōm ma ni pad me hūm. hī.*

M14.

*Accession number:* A 1442
*Language:* Tibetan
*Title:* [*Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*] *rgya skad du: śatasahasrikapradñaparamyita. bod skad du: śes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa ston phrag brgya pa. Bam po 1–19* (= *Le'u 1–3*).
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist, philosophy
*Number of folios:* 342 ff.
*Number of lines:* 8
*Material:* Heavy locally made paper of good quality
*Size:* 71cm. × 26.6cm.
*Script:* Tibetan *dbu can* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* —?—. Possibly purchased, before 1929. Collected by Dr. G. Lagai, New York.

*Comments:* Paper colored a deep blue. Writing in tan with several *śads* on first folio and on f.82 verso in gold leaf. There are some letters on ff.26 and 258 which have been written over with gold leaf. A lacquer covers the area on which there is writing. On ff.319 and 320 paper has been pasted on the right side and colored deep blue as are the rest of the folios. Small tears in ff.21 and 26 have been sewn together with thread. A very few other folios only have small tears which have not been repaired. In some places mistakes have been deleted with a remover, leaving blank spaces with the blue of the paper only on the line. Instances of this are, however, very few. There are a few smudges of letters. Ff.131, 203, 223, and 257 are slightly smaller than the other folios. F.239 is on unusually thick paper. F.1 is constituted of five leaves of paper strung together, with a cutout on the first leaf of the folio verso, the text being written on the leaf under this. An orange, blue, yellow, and white piece of silk which can be lifted up in order to see the text is inserted over the text on the first folio verso in back of the cutout. A piece of hemp pull cloth is on the left side of f.1 recto. Gold, red, and black heavy wood covers. The upper cover has a relief carved on it which is painted red, gold, and black.

*Final colophon: le'u gsum mo.*

*Text begins: bam bo dan po / glegs bam thog ma'o sans rgyas dan byan chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lol.*

*Text ends: rak 'byor byan chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos de ltar chos thams chad myi nmyigs pas śes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa la bslab par bya ste / rab 'byord gal te byan chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po śes rab kyi pha rold tu bhind pa spyod pa' tshe śe rab kyi pha rold tu phind pa de yan myi nmyigs byan chub sems dpa' de yan myi nmyigs / byan chub sems dpa' de yan myi nmyigs na de*

*ñid byan chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po' gidms(?) nag yin te de ñid rjes su bstend pa yin no.*

M15.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Tibetan
*Title: dag pa gser gyi mdo thig*
*Author:* —
*Category:* Non-canonical Buddhist; treatise on efficacy of prayer to an unidentified *yi dam* (perhaps, rkon rtsho?)
*Number of folios:* 29 ff.
*Number of lines:* 7
*Material:* Locally made paper of poor quality
*Size:* 37.4cm. × 12.9cm.
*Script:* Tibetan *dbu can* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Woodblock printing. Simple black border around text. Folios badly stained, not interfering with legibility of text. In some places the print is very faint, making the text difficult to read. Title of f.1 recto particularly faint.

*Colophon: rab / tu byas pas thams cad dul, rgya nag ylu du mdzad pa yi, rkon rtse'i yi dam mdo thig 'di rab tu bźan ste bkra śis thob dag pa gser gyi / mdo thig ces bya ba thun mon ma yin pa nes na thams cad se'i ba'i mdo dgos 'dod 'byun ba rdzogs so.*

*Text begins: rgya nag skad du: gtsug lag 'phrul gyi 'gyur rtsi* [.] *srid pa lha'i skad du, kon tse lin tse mer m*[. .] *ma źes bya ba. bod skad du: 'byun ba lna la dban bsgyur 'byun ba lna yi bdab. thams cad mkhyen pa thams cad . . .*

*Text ends: gnod pa thams cad rab tu źi. 'byun bdud gza' bdud rab tu źi. skar bdud spar kha'i bdud rnams źi. gnod pa thams cad rab tu źi.*

M16.

*Accession number:* 22063
*Language:* Tibetan
*Title: dkar chab dsgos 'dod kun 'byun bźug swo*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Non-canonical Buddhist; *Madhyamīka* prayers
*Number of folios:* 523 ff.; ff.1–285, 294–298, 302, 310–503, 503 *źe*, 504 *źe*, 505 *źe*, 504–524, 538–541, *źe* 7, *źe* 8, *źe* 9, 550–552, 558–563, 572–592, with numbers 119–129 on one folio, 177 and 178 on one folio, and 422 and 423 on one folio.
*Number of lines:* 6–7
*Material:* Locally made paper of poor quality
*Size:* 56.6±cm. × 13.2±cm.
*Script:* Tibetan *dbu can* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Furness, Harrison and Hiller, 1900. Collected by the donors in 1899.

*Comments:* Woodblock printing. Simple device bordering text on each folio. First folio of first prayer has two pictures flanking the text, one on each side. Each prayer is numbered individually, the entire collection having been numbered consecutively by hand. The title of each prayer is on the first folio recto of each, usually woodblock printed but occasionally written by hand. The prayers range from two to twenty-five folios each. There is embedded dirt on most of the folios. Some folios are stained. In many cases there are repairs with strips of paper. The text is generally very clear. In the lower left center of some ruled paper attached to three cloth tabs at the beginning of the collection is written, "*zan 'dos pha ched.*" In the lower left there is some writing in a very cursive hand. On the second of these cloth tabs is written, "*'dom da.*" Lightweight painted wood covers, with the paint chipping off.

*Table of contents begins: om bde legs su gyur chig. sñin stobs brtsen pa'i drod gsher las ons rnam 'dren yons 'du'i dbus na brjid, sñigs dus 'gro la / dmigs med thugs rje'i mñen lchug yal 'dab gyur za áin, . . . phyogs gchig bkod pa'i glegs bam dkar chag dgod.*

M17.

*Accession number:* 32-47-14
*Language:* Tibetan
*Title:* —
*Author:* —
*Category:* Charms(?) to ward off evil from a house
*Number of folios:* 14, on 7 sheets sewn together. Each folio identical.
*Number of lines:* 7 in all per folio
*Material:* Locally made paper of poor quality
*Size:* 17.3cm.×22.2cm.
*Script:* Tibetan *dbu can* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* —?—. Possibly purchased in 1932. Collected by Gordon Bowles.

*Comments:* Woodblock printing. The prints are not equally clear; some were inked too much and therefore the imprint spread on the porous paper, some were not inked enough. Upper right quarter contains grid with *dhāraṇīs* and figures of fowl.

*Text begins: zla ba blon bogg źlog źag dmag mis gag / glogg dus tshod mtshon tshe'i gag źlog bgigs.*

*Text ends: sgyo sgyo sgyo zlog zlog zlog. srba rga lam.*

M18.

*Accession number:* 20096
*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* —
*Author:* —
*Category:* Sinhalese syllabary and assorted palm leaf scraps, one giving Sinhalese script numbers for 1 to 20
*Number of folios:* 5 ff. + 3 scraps
*Number of lines:* 4 lines; 1st f. recto—3 lines, last f. verso—2 lines
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 39.5cm. × 4.5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, 1893. Purchased by the donor at the World's Columbian Exposition.

*Comments:* F.1 recto begins, "*svasti siddham*," and then gives the complete alphabet in forms with short *a*. It ends, "*siddhir astu*." From f.1 verso on, each line gives a letter in all its combining forms. This ends with those for "*ha*" and "*ḷa*" on f.5 verso.

The scraps:

1. Written in Sinhalese script, "*Silon*" (Ceylon) and "Tikiri Bandā"; in Roman script, "T. Banda 2 4(?) 36."

2. Written in Sinhalese script, the syllables "*ṣi*" and "*ha*" below one another; and in Roman script, "P was written / he was int[?]ed / Thus a mistake is corrected."

3. Written in Roman script at top, "Robert Henry Lanborn." Underneath this, the same name is written in Sinhalese script. This is followed by a Sinhalese numbering system giving Sinhalese numbers for 1 to 20 with their Arabic numeral equivalents. To the right of this, in Arabic numerals, "93 × (?) 9 × (?)13."

M19.

*Accession number:* 32-32-1
*Number of folios:* 35 ff., variously lettered and numbered. See each section of this manuscript for specifics.
*Number of lines:* 6–8
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 21.5/22.3cm. × 4.7/5.5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Dr. A. P. S. Willard, 1932

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Wood covers with outside surfaces stained and varnished. Some stain near edges of a few folios. Paper label on outside of one cover erroneously states the contents to be "Veda" and notes in writing which is now very pale, "Received April 15th, 1907 from / Mrs. . . . H. C . . d . . . / . . . / . . . ." A label on the outside of the other cover repeats the mistake with regard to the contents. It notes, "From the *Temple of the Tooth* / [(Bombay), crossed out and covered with the note, 400 B.C., B.C. crossed out, 400 underlined, and A.D. added under this] Kandy. Ceylon. / A Veda portion of their 'Bible'—one of the 4 Books / of Prayer and Praise of the Hindus / written in Sanscrit. — / (1400 to 200 B. C.)" Despite the variation in the size of the folios, they all appear to be of the same date.

Section A.

*Language:* Sinhalese, Malayalam and / or Tamil, Sanskrit
*Title:* Not given. Perhaps *Mădi bandana*? See Section B below.
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, charms and accompanying ritual, with statements of purpose
*Number of folios:* 13 ff.; ff. *kā* to *kau*, with *ku* also lettered *ñau* and the folios also numbered 2 to 14

*Comments:* Lacks beginning? Several sections begin, "*ōn namo. . . .*" No colophon?

*Text beginning on f. kā (2): ōn namo iriyāneṃ irittanīren pramattā kkhailenśiya varalattannīren oru/ven sudā sanniyen en guruvālattanniyen tanī . . .*

*Text ends: goḍaka rapu kaḷudi devatāvā bănden śiribuddha hanumā kaṭṭu banda bandasa esvāhā. / mădi bandana yayi hubahedipā kaḷu nūlata maraturā bandinu.*

Section B.

*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Not given. Perhaps *Mădi bandana*? See Section A above.
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, mythology
*Number of folios:* 6 ff.; lettered *nā/pr, naḷ/pe, pai, po, pau, pā.*

*Colophon: vă* (or *mă?*) *di bandana yayi.* [Various letters, and numbers(?)] *iyanam.*

*Text begins: ōn namo aṣṭakāmalakkulleṇăkaklaḷudattu . . .*

*Text ends: rāmagridevatāva namaḥ.* [.]*abrata pideniya ătuva atata matura kāriyodin kăpa kara nula kunu / kujanu.*

Section C.

*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Not given
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, texts for exorcist to get various deities to enter his body, plus two chants
*Number of folios:* 7 ff.; lettered *sva, a, ā, i, ī, u, ū,* and also numbered 1 to 7

*Comments:* Lacks colophon.

*Text begins: ōn namo satmūdem edēse divāraṭṇakōvile upan divāratna kumārayā. . . .*

*Text ends: sadmuka saruvā diṣṭipatayak prakesvahā. mamane*(?) *diya maturanu. sattayi.*

Section D.

*Language:* Sinhalese, and Tamil(?)
*Title:* Not given
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, mythological episodes and incantations
*Number of folios:* 9 ff.; lettered *pa* to *pḷ*

*Comments:* Lacks colophon.

*Text begins: ōn sarvyāpprakāranīlavarunan. ōn . . .*

*Text ends: ōn triṣtatriṣta sudu mal matura gasanu ō jalajala yesvaha. / diyamatura gasanu . . . śirimalyahanāvai.* [.]*rayi.*

M20.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Unidentified Ayurvedic text in verse, written during the time of one of the kings named Buvanekabāhu. See f. *ka* verso, first verse and C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1961).
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Medicine
*Number of folios:* 63 ff.; ff. *ka* to *ghāṃ*. Lacks end.
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 43.9cm. × 4.6/5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. The manuscript is laid out with three to five columns of text on both sides of each folio. The last syllables of each line, the rhyme, are spaced away from the rest of the line, and these are written one above another in a straight column. A stain has been rubbed in on the edges of the folios, but it has fairly well worn off. The

stain mars parts of some folios, being worst on f. *ghā* verso where it makes some of the text difficult to read. The quality of a few of the leaves is poor, the surface of the leaf having retained some of the black powder rubbed in to make the incised letters clear, particularly along the edges of the letters themselves, thus causing some of the letters to be blurred. See, for example, f. *ghī* recto and verso. An identifying tag with the *signa* '0 303' is attached to the manuscript. This may be an identification from a previous collection as it is not a University Museum accession number.

*Text begins:*
*ratańgili peti vihindi*
*dahasak dăvi kesaru răńdi*
*sakkemiyen ōrandi*
*vańdimi sitipāpiyuṃ mana băńdi*
. . .
(f. *ka* verso, vss. 3 and 4)
*meyin anaturu koṭa*
*āyusa kămati satahaṭa*
*totu dăna păvatimaṭa*
*kīya sutureka manonada koṭa*

*melesiṃ metepul da*
*palamu matanādi isihu da*
*păvasū bas e sańda*
*asātatu leda danuvu pirisińda*
*Text ends:*
*valańgasāl siriyal vanuvălguru da*
*lākaḍa suvanguru metekiṃ karana lada*
*ăsi kisi năṣe mē anduṃ suduḷuvot seda*
*ăsikininan abadudanan leḍa kīhada*

M21.

*Accession number:* 34-19-1
*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Not given
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *vinaya* rules, perhaps taken from the Sinhalese book *Sikhavalanda.*
*Number of folios:* 1 f., lettered *ghe*(?). Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 7
*Material:* Palm leaf
*Size:* 39.7cm.×6.5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Edward Cope Wood, 1934

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Written in ink in the right hand margin of the recto side of the frond, "A page from a Buddhist book.—100 years old, from Kandy, Ceylon. 3/14.'23." Written in ink in the left hand margin on the recto side of the frond, "This writing is Sinhalese, on Talipat palm leaf."

*First line: °m ekkenakun karana pavuruṇu pungul pavuruṇu nam . . .*

*Last line: dedenātundenāsataradenā karaṇa pavuruṇu gaṇa pavuruṇu na°*

M22.

*Accession number:* 47-12-3
*Number of folios:* 36 ff., lettered *ka* to *gī*
*Number of lines:* 5–6
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 38.4cm. × 5.5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, 1947

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Wood covers with a red, white, and black (brown?) design painted on a yellow background. The text for the first folio side of each section is written between the lateral holes. A simple pattern was once marked with a dark stain on the upper and lower edges. For the contents of the *sutta* of this text see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London, 1938).

Section A.

*Language:* Sinhalese, with words of the Pali text
*Title:* Mainly, glossary type commentary on Pali text of the *Dansakpăvatunsūtraya* (Pali: *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*)
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, commentary
*Number of folios:* 21 ff.; ff. *ka* verso to *khu* verso

*Colophon: mese me dansakpăvatunsūtrayayi evem me sutaṃ yana pa/daya ādīkoṭa bhikkhu māntesi yana padayo dakvā śrāvaka bhāsita vaneya. meme bhikkhave yana padaya ādīkoṭa nathidāni punaṅ vo(?)ti yana padaya dakvā śrī mukkha pāli buddha bhāsita vanne/ya. ida vacoca yana tănpaṭan aññāsīvata bho kondaññoti yanuven vadāla udāna vacanaya hăra sesu siyallat śrāvaka bhāsita yayi data yutu.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. / me āyusmat mahā kākṣyapa sthavirayan vahanse . . . evam sutam—me ākarayen asana lada mese asana lada mese asana ladī—ekam samayam—garbbhacakkrānti samaya . . .*

*Text ends:* "*pāturahosi*" *pāturbbhūta vī . . . hiru dahasa dahas siya / nǎṅgāse mahat ālokayak pāturbbhūtavī.*

Section B.

*Language:* Pali
*Title:* [Commentary on *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*]
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, commentary
*Number of folios:* 15 ff.; ff. *khū* recto to *gī* recto

*Colophon: siddhir astu. me liv pin purā viṅda śavu śapat nitarā no mada biya sasarā mamada budu vem vā loturā. nimi. subham astu. svartthasiddhir astu.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavatō arahato sammā sambuddhassa. / evam me sutam ekam samayam bagavā bāranasiyan isipatanē migadāye. me. evam sutam.*

*Text ends:* "*aññākoṅdaññatveva*" *idannāmaṃ ahosi. me. evam sutam.*

M23.

*Accession number:* 47-12-4
*Number of folios:* 38 ff., lettered *ka* to *gū*
*Number of lines:* 6
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 44cm. × 5.4cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, 1947

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Coin at one end of tie cord reads "Ceylon 1903" in Roman script, "*lo catam*" in Tamil script and "*śatadaśaya*" in Sinhalese script. Wood covers painted with a yellow and black design on a wood background. The upper and lower edges of the folios were once colored with a dark stain. The first folio side of text (beginning of Section A) is written between the lateral holes only. The black powder has been rubbed in only lightly on some of the folios. For the contents of the *sutta* of this text see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.*

Section A.

*Language:* Pali
*Title:* [Commentary on *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*]
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, commentary
*Number of folios:* 15 ff., lettered *ka* to *kāṃ*

*Comments:* Lacks colophon.

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. / evam me sutam ekam samayam bhagavā bāranasiyan viharati isipatane migadāye. evam me sutam. me.*

*Text ends: itihadam āyasmanto kondaññassā aññakoṅdaññassā aññakoṅdaññotveva idaṃ nāmaṃ ahosi.*

Section B.

*Language:* Sinhalese, with words of Pali text
*Title: Dhamsakpăvatun sūtrānta dharmma desanāva* [.] (Sinhalese commentary on Pali text of *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*)
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, commentary
*Number of folios:* 23 ff., lettered *kaḥ* to *gū*

*Colophon: meya se dhamsakpăvatunsutrayayi evam me sutaṃ yana me padaya ādīkoṭa ăti bhikkhu āmantesi yana padayo dakvā śravaka bhāsitaya manet yā koṭa me bhik/khave yana padaya ādīkoṭa nathidāni punabbhavosi yana padaya dakvā śrī pāli[.]buddha bhāsitaya vanneya. idam oca yana tănpaṭan aññāsīvata bho konda/ññoti yanuven vadāla udāna vacanayat hăra sesu siyallat śrāvaka bhāsita yayi data yutu.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. evam me sutam. me āyusmat vu mahā kākṣyapa sthavirayan vahansa . . . me ākārayen asana lada mese asana lada mese ma asana ladī nohot me māge "sutam" (?) śrutiya "evam" mese ma yi.*

*Text ends: itiha mese vanāhi āyasmato koṅdaññassa—ayusmatvu kauṅdinyasthavirayan vahanseṭa—a/ññakoṅdaññotveva—aññakoṅdaññа yayi kiya . . . ne nam namek vu yeya.*

M24.

*Accession number:* 47-12-5
*Number of folios:* 44 ff., lettered *ka* to *go*.
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 46cm. × 5.4cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good-excellent
*Donor:* Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, 1947

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Wood covers painted with a yellow and black design on a red background. The folios were once gilt-edged. Stains on some folios, particularly beginning with folio *khḷ*. Folio *kṛ* is newer and is in a different hand. For the contents of the *sutta* and

*jātaka* of Sections A and B see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.*

Section A.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta*, with a beginning on *cittāra*
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*
*Number of folios:* 25 ff., lettered *ka* to *khḷ*; f. *ka* recto, line 1 to f. *khḷ* verso, line 6.
*Number of lines:* 6

*Colophon: iti cittāramukhena mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttam niṭṭhitam.*

*Text begins: namō tassa bhagavatō sammā sambuddha/ssa. evam me sutam ekam samayam bhagavā ku/rusu viharati kammāssa dhammam nāma kurūnam / nigamo.*

*Text ends: idam ovoca bhagavā attamanāte bhikkhu bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandunti.*

Section B.

*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title: Svarnnakarkkataka jātaka* (Pali: *Suvaṇṇakakkaṭajātaka*)
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist, *jātaka*
*Number of folios:* 3 ff., lettered *khe* to *kho*; f. *khe* recto, line 1 to f. *kho* recto, line 2.
*Number of lines:* 7

*Colophon: svarnnakarkkataka jātaka yayi. siddhir astu.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. tavada bǎḷu bǎlūvange ǎś nivavā . . . yaṭagiya davasa rajagha nuvara sāliya nam gama . . .*

*Text ends: ekala brāhmanayō nam lovuturā budun mammavedǎyi sitā taman vahansē vadāla / sēka.*

Section C.

*Language:* Sinhalese, with Pali interpolations
*Title:* Untitled doctrinal *dharma* preaching, treating various meritorious deeds in justification of the use of the term "*arhat*" for the Buddha and beginning with two incidents from the Buddha's life. Frequent mention is made of King Kosala and Queen Mallika.
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, doctrinal
*Number of folios:* 17 ff., lettered *kho* to *go*; f. *kho* recto, line 2 to f. *go* recto, end.
*Number of lines:* 7

*Colophon: siddhir astu. subham astu. ārogyam astu.* This is followed on far right side of leaf, one line below the other, by:

*me liv pin purā*
*vida savu sapat nitorā*
*no vāda biya sasarā*
*mamada budu vem lovuturā*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahat sammā sambuddhassa. tavada me mahā baddra kalpayaṭa . . . nārada nam budu rajānam vahaṃsē samayehi dolos avuruddale väsi näti va . . . eka kulayeka ätto sālnäliyak paṭṭhaniyabä/nda . . .*

*Text ends: . . . maṭa ma pihiṭa vu māge budurajānā / me me kāranayemudu arhat nam sēka.*

M25.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Sinhalese, with Pali vs. at beginning and some Pali interpolations from the *Nimijātaka*
*Title: Nimi jātaka*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *jātaka*
*Number of folios:* 84 ff.; ff. *kā* to *cu*, + cover leaf at beginning and at end.
*Number of lines:* 5–8
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 42cm.×6cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* July 1811(?). See under colophon.
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges of folios were once covered by a stain. Wooden covers painted black with intricate red and yellow design on this. Designs also on inside covers in same coloring, that on inside of back cover being black, red, and yellow on a predominantly yellow background. An identifying tag with the *signa* 0 302 is attached to the manuscript. This may be an identification from a previous collection since it is not a University Museum accession number. For contents of the *jātaka* see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.*

*Colophon:* On first cover folio verso, without ink rubbed in, there is inscribed: *i*[.]*le*[.] *varṣa 1811*(?) *kvu juli masa*(?) *pūjākarapu nimi jātakaya ibulevagurara*[*va?*] *ukuvā . . .*

*Colophon proper reads: sri candrabhāratī ṇam prohita brāhmanasene / virat narendrayāṇaṃvahansege paraṃparāven pävāta āvāvū migammaṇa randenikumarage munuburu vū arabegedara vedarāla liyā nermmitakalā / vū nimi jātaka*

*dharmayayi. me pina śăma sataravaran deviyanvada amattamandale śăma aya da mā guruvara ādi siyallaṭa ayiti vēvā. siddhir astu. subham astu. aṣṭasiddhir astu.*

*Text begins: svasti ṇaothassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhāssa. natvā kārunikaṃ buddhaṃ dhammaṃ saṃghaṅ ca sādhukam kāruṇāya sa[n?] santānaṃ karomi nirayaṃ vanaṃ. / . . . kathenti nimi jātakaṃ. tavada ȧpa bududuhu / budubăvu patā bodisatva bhūmuyehi siṭa anekaprakāra duskālakkriyā keremin buddhatāraka dharmmayan muhukuruvā sasara ăvidinā / seka pańce mahāpatityāgayehi trividha cariyāyehi kela pămiṇa . . . me brāmāṇḍayehi da lovuturā buduva . . . vadāranasēk anadaya mā sasara perunpurana kalhi / memma miyuḷunuvara nimi maharajavimi vadālasek.*

*Text ends: . . . kalahayi vadārā nimijātakaya nimavā vadālasekī. / e samayehi nimi rajava upanne nam budhu vū mammavedăyi tamanvahansē dakvā vadālasēkī.*

M26.

*Accession number:* 29-133-1
*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title:* [*Sāleyyakasutta*] *Sāleyyasutta / Sāleyyāsūtra.* Text and commentary.
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta* and commentary
*Number of folios:* 74 ff., lettered *ka* to *ghā*[a], *ghā*[b] to *ṅḷ*
*Number of lines:* 8
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 41.7cm. × 5.2cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Miss Comly, 1920

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Stained wood covers. The folios beginning the commentary (*ka*) and the *sutta* proper (*gho*) are written on between the lateral holes only. For contents of the *sutta* see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.*

*Colophon of commentary* (f. *ghai* verso): *sāleyyāsūtra artthavyakkhyāṇayiyi. siddhir astu.*

*Colophon of text* (f. *ṅḷ* verso): *sāleyyasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. siddhir astu.*

*First line of commentary* (f. *ka* verso): *namō tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. evam me su/taṃ. mau. āyuṣmat vū vahā kāśyapasthavirayanvahansa . . .*

*End of commentary* (f. *ghai* verso): *upāsakēti upāsakavaru yayikiyā dhāretuti sithīlā dharā vadāraṇa sekvā.*

*First line of* sutta (f. *gho* recto): *namo tassa bhagavato sambuddhassa. evam me sutam ekam sama/yam bhagavā kosalesu cārikam caramāno mahatā bhikkhusaṃ-ghena . . .*

*End of* sutta (f. *ṅḷ* verso): *ajja*[.]*tagge – pānupeto / – saraṇaṃ gateti – upāsaketi – dhāretutī.*

M27.

*Accession number:* 55-15-1
*Number of folios:* 111 ff. + 1 not written on; ff. *kai* to *cha*, *chṛ*, *chṝ*, *chḷ*, *che*, *cho*, *cham*, *chaḥ*, *ja* to *jṛ*, *jḷ* to *jhi*. Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 6
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 27cm. × 4.5/5cm.
*Script:* Sinhalese
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Dr. Esmond R. Long, 1955

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges of leaves were once colored with a stain. Wood covers stained and varnished with a simple design using red and black painted over the stain before varnishing. The manuscript divides itself into thirteen sections. For the contents of Sections B and F see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.*

Section A.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title: Pañcapatiṭṭhānamaskāra*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, ritual
*Number of folios:* 9 ff.; ff. *kai* to *khī* verso, line 5. Lacks beginning.

*Colophon: pañcapatiṭṭhitānamaskāra sannayi. iminā puññakammena metteyyaṃ upasamkami paṭṭhi / hitvā saraṇesu ppatiṭhāmi sāsanē.*

*Text begins: vaduru kalu* [.] *aṅdun kalu. kaḷu kumāra.*

*Text ends: tavada divyābrahmanāṅgsuparṇṇayakṣarākṣagaruṅdagāndharva suranara samūhayā amāmaha nivan dutuvā / hā.*

Section B.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Āḷavakasutta*
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*
*Number of folios:* 4 ff.; ff. *khī* verso, line 6 to *khṛ* recto, line 2

*Colophon: ālavakasuttaṃ nitthitaṃ.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato arahat samā sambuddhassa. evam me / sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā āḷaviyaṃ viharati ālavakassa yakkhassa bhavane. atha ko āḷavako yakkho yena bhagavātenupasaṃkami . . .*

*Text ends: evamēvaṃ bho/tā gotamena . . . esā bhagavantaṃ gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca[.] bhikkhu [.] saṃgañca upā/sākaṃ maṃ'bhavaṃ gotamo dhāretu ajjataggo pāṇupetaṃ saranaṃ gatantīti.*

Section C.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title: Paticcasam*[+ *u*?]*ppāda* (? = Commentary on the *Āḷavakasutta*, perhaps plus something else)
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, commentary
*Number of folios:* 31 ff.; ff. *khṛ* recto, line 3 to *ghu* recto, line 4

*Colophon: paṭiccasamppāda (sic) sannayi.*

*Text begins: namō buddhāya. evam me sutaṃ mē āyuṣmatvū kāśyapasthavirayan vahansa me ālavaka sūtrānta / dharmmadenāva . . .*

*Text ends: "evaṃ" etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa me siyalu duk pida/k văni śarīraya . . . siyaḷu akusala karmmayan durukoṭa kusala karmmayehi apramādavavisima utu/mvanneyi.*

Section D.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title: Aṭuvaprārtthanāgāthā padārthayi*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *gāthā*, glossary
*Number of folios:* 14 ff.; ff. *ghu* recto, line 4 to *nā* verso, line 1

*Colophon: aṭuvaprārtthanāgāthāpadarthayi.*

*Text begins: namo buddhāya. iti pi so bhagavā . . . tipi me kāraṇayenda "so bhagavā e bhāgyavatvū budurajānan vahanse . . .*

*Text ends: . . . "bhavasāgara" saṃsārasāgaren "imaṃ lokaṃ nāreyyamhe me lo/văssan etara keremvā.*

Section E.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Prārtthanāgāthā*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *gāthā*
*Number of folios:* 2 ff.; ff. *nā* verso, line 1 to *ni* recto, line 3

*Colophon: prārtthanā gāthāyi.*

*Text begins: imina puññkammena itohaṃ bhavato cuto u/ppajitvā . . .*

*Text ends: brahmasamsārabandhanaṃ mocaïtvā varaṃ khemaṃ pāpu/neyyaṃ sivaṃ puraṃ.*

Section F.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Narasīhagāthā*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *gāthā*
*Number of folios:* 3 ff.; ff. *ni* recto, line 3 to *nu* recto, line 3

*Colophon: narasīha gāthāyi.*

*Text begins: saṃbuddham uttamam udāra . . . sirisanamāmi.*

*Text ends: majjhagato samaṇindo e sahi tuyhapito narasīho.*

Section G.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title: Bodhivandanāgāthā*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *gāthā*, ritual
*Number of folios:* 10 ff.; ff. *nu* recto, line 3 to *nau* recto, line 6

*Colophon: bodhivandanāgāthā niṭṭhitā.*

*Text begins: nidāna pāṭhaya vistara koṭa dakvannā vū . . . kalandaka nivāpeya yana me padaya avasaṃ koṭa äti me pāṭhaya vadāḷa sekaṃ. /*

*Text ends: . . . saropitaṃ taṃ dakvā diṅ* [.] *sudhamatisayamānusaṃvā manuññaṃ . . . naṃ dadātu.*

Section H.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Dhātuvandanā*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, ritual
*Number of folios:* 10 ff.; ff. *nau* recto, line 6 to *cṛ* verso, line 2

*Colophon: dhātuvandanā niṭṭhitā.*

*Text begins: namo buddhāya. ādidhvaṃsa pa*[.]*repatu*[.] / . . . *buddhamhambuvāham.*

*Text ends: . . . vasantu meghadharanima vanijā dhammato jālayantu.*

Section I.

*Language:* Pali
*Title: Maitribhāvanā.*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, doctrinal, meditation
*Number of folios:* 10 ff.; ff. *cṛ* verso, line 3 to *caḥ* recto, line 6

*Colophon: maitribhāvanāyi.*

*Text begins: mahākārunikābuddhā . . . niraṅgaṇaṃ.*

*Text ends: . . . tepiman anura/kkhantu ārogyena sudhena cāti.*

Section J.

*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Unidentified text on *sīla.*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, doctrinal
*Number of folios:* 2 ff.; ff. *caḥ* recto, line 6 to *cha* verso, line 6

*Comments:* Text incomplete.

*Text begins: namo buddhāya. sīla nam satara saṃvarasīlaya hekesedayat.*

Section K.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese translation
*Title: Detiskarma padārthayi*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, *sutta*, text and
*Number of folios:* 13 ff.; ff. *chṛ* recto, line 1 to *jṛ* recto, line 6

*Comments:* 1 f., f. *chḷ*, inserted after f. *chṛ*. Text unrelated and fragmentary.

*Colophon: detiskarmmapadārtthayi.*

*Text begins: anotattasarāsanne ramaṇīye sitāle . . . lokanāyako āsīno vyākari tattha pubbakammāni attano.*

*Text ends: budupāramitā bhūmiyehidī paladun kalakarmmavu katāvastuva kiyā. nimavanalatī.*

Section L.

*Language:* Pali and Sinhalese
*Title: Upāsakamanussavinaya varṇṇanā*
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, rules for laity
*Number of folios:* 7 ff.; ff. *jṛ* verso, line 1 to *jau* verso, line 4

*Colophon: upāsakamanussavinaya varṇṇanā / niṭṭhitā.*

*Text begins: namo tassa bhagavato araheto sammā sambuddhassa. saṃsāre saṃsrantānaṃ manusānam hitāvaham kāruññeneva desesi manussavinayam i/maṃ sunantā sādhukaññeva sunantu jinadesitam.*

*Text ends: imāya dhamma desapariyosānedhammika / . . . sottāpattiphaladīnipāpuniṃsūti.*

Section M.

*Language:* Sinhalese
*Title:* Unidentified meditative material
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist, doctrinal, meditation
*Number of folios:* 6 ff.; ff. *jau* verso, line 4 to *jhi* verso, end. Lacks end.

*Comments:* Lacks colophon.

*Text begins: namo buddhāya. pilisindageṇa paḷamuvaṇasatiya masdevidiyattak vaduva devana satiya bolmītelittak baduva . . .*

*Text ends abruptly: . . . jātijarāvyādhimaraṇa pirinăslī ăhămadukin peleṇa heyin /*

## BURMA

### M28.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Language:* Burmese
*Title:* Eight birth certificates
*Category:* Documents
*Number of folios:* 8 ff.
*Number of lines:* 7
*Material:* Bundles of palm leaves tied together for each folio
*Size:* 21cm. × 5.5cm.
*Script:* Burmese round script
*Dates:* Burmese Era 1219, 1226; 1219, 1229; 1232, 1236; 1234, 1236 (the Burmese Era begins in 638 A.D.)
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* The birth certificates are tied together in groups of two for some reason which is not obvious. In two cases those tied together are for a male and a female; in the remaining two cases each of the two birth certificates tied together is for a male. Each birth certificate lists the date of birth, the name of the child, and the names of the parents on one side, and gives the horoscope cast at the time of birth on the other side. The folios are waxed, and the incised letters have had a powder rubbed in them which, with the wax, gives them a dark brown appearance.

### M29.

*Accession number:* A 1711
*Language:* Shan
*Title:* Letter, in envelope, from the Sawbaw of Hsenwi
*Category:* Documents
*Number of folios:* 1 f. + envelope
*Number of lines:* 10
*Material:* Shan paper

*Size of letter:* 20.5cm. × 53cm.
*Size of envelope:* 10.5cm. × 24.8cm.
*Script:* Shan script
*MS. date:* Burmese Era 1254
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Dr. M. B. Kirkpatrick, 1920. Collected by Kirkpatrick, Sr.

*Comments:* The manuscript is lined lightly in pencil and both right and left hand margins are scored off, also lightly in pencil. The next to the last line is scored both above and below the letters. The last line is not scored at all. The margin on the left side is ample, and contains in red the seal of the Sawbaw of Hsenwi, a Shan state. There are also ornamental flourishes, in red, which extend to the far right of the page after the last line and after the line preceding this, and another ornamental flourish, also in red, after the direction on the envelope. Written on the envelope, in Roman script, underlined, is "Aus" ( =?) or "Ans." The letter is addressed to someone named Kirkpatrick, probably the collector, while he was residing in Hsipaw.

*Direction on envelope reads: lik ao thüŋ tam atham caosirāloŋpincao tikhā ɔ:.*

*Letter begins: viŋsinvipɔthɔ:n. kaokhācaophalo.ŋ tæmlik mittācā yün hɔ:t khünthüŋ cao sarāloŋ khvipiktarik haokhāpā an mi yū naü / viŋsipɔ.*

*Letter ends: yün hɔ:t khünthüŋ cao sarāloŋ hao khā ŋin li li kamnüŋ khā ɔ:/ 1254 khulön hālɔ:ŋ* [.] *tæmlik.*

M30.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Title:* Picture book depicting royal amusements of King Thibaw (fl. 1878–1885) of Burma
*Artist:* Not given
*Number of folios:* 13 ff., folded in accordion style
*Material:* Heavy Shan paper
*Size:* 16.7cm. × 40.9cm.
*MS. date:* Not given, but after 1878 at earliest on the basis of the topic of the manuscript.
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Floral design in green, red, yellow, and white on the outer sides of the first and last folios. The manuscript depicts six scenes, five placed in the inner courtyard in the royal compound in Mandalay. Most appear to be performances of plays. Each scene is bordered by yellow with a heavy black line between the border and the scene itself. One of the points of extreme interest is the fear and perplexity in the eyes of most of the people depicted in the last scenes. Written on a small label pasted on the front cover is, ". . . No. 3059 / Old Book Scenes of the / Life of the late King / Theebow / Made at . . . / Maker Unknown" and the name of a dealer located in various places in India, obscured by a piece of tape on

which is written, "Univ. Museum #9." An identification attached to the manuscript gives the *signa* o 304. This may be an identification from a previous collection since it is not a University Museum accession number. Compare with New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Burmese MS. 3, "Royal Entertainments at Mandalay."

M31.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Title:* Picture book depicting royal amusements and the performance of royal functions
*Artist:* Not given
*Number of folios:* 34 ff., folded in accordion style
*Material:* Heavy Shan paper
*Size:* 17.6cm. × 39.7cm.
*MS. date:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown

*Comments:* Geometric and floral design in purple, white, black, red, and green on outer sides of the first and last folios. The manuscript depicts sixteen scenes. These include the first ritual ploughing of the field by the king (?), polo playing, wrestling, cock fighting, and the trampling to death of prisoners by elephants. The king is invariably accompanied by a crown prince, which makes it likely that the monarch depicted is King Mindon (fl. 1853–1878). Each scene is bordered by yellow with a heavy black line between the border and the scene itself. Written on the back of the front cover, in Burmese round script in a crude hand, is "*thạhkin biya bụlụmyū*," Bụlụmyū being the name of a city. On the same side there is an identification with the *signa* o 305, which may be from a previous collection since it is not a University Museum accession number. There is also on this side a label which reads, "VANTINE. $15$^{00}$." Before this is written in pencil the date "Jan. 24, 1936."

M8.

*Accession number:* 15880b

(For Section A of this manuscript number see entry under INDIA.)

Section B.

*Language:* Pali
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Non-canonical Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 1 f., fragment, lettered *ka.*
*Number of lines:* 6
*Material:* Palm leaf
*Size:* 39.2cm. × 5cm.
*Script:* Burmese round script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Poor

*Comments:* Two lateral holes for tie cord. The right side of the leaf is badly damaged, with large sections of text missing. There is a lengthwise crack in the leaf on the left side. A brown powder has been rubbed in over the incisions. The folio is waxed.

*F. ka* recto *begins: hemasā go nakha sāmannāgato gāmaniye hi ṭi hathārapriye hi bhāsāni ye vasā ti yāti. tu sātiyā ka*[. .] *kā*[folio broken off] . . .

Section C.

*Language:* Burmese
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 1 f., fragment
*Number of lines:* 9
*Material:* Palm leaf
*Size:* 45.2+cm. × 5.9cm.
*Script:* Burmese round script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Poor

*Comments:* Two lateral holes for tie cord. The left side of the leaf and the bottom of the leaf in the center and on the right side is broken off. There are cracks in other parts of the folio. Powder, with a brown appearance, has been rubbed in over the incisions. The folio is waxed.

*Text begins on one side of folio:* [*?*] *hpạ yạthạ hkin mẹi hylạw taw mạ mu thin* [.] *hylet shị ị* [.] *kyang /*

*Text begins on other side of folio: taw mu i* [.] *pạ reik thạt tọ ə̃ mein taw mu thāw ạ kha ko taw taing ta yā twẹi sạ ya ạ kyāung shị ya aung* [.] *lu tọ thi /*

M32.

*Accession number:* Unnumbered
*Item:* Wooden cover with floral design in gold on red from palm leaf manuscript.
*Condition:* Excellent.
*Size:* 50.6cm. × 5cm.
*Donor:* Unknown

## THAILAND

M33.

*Accession number:* 29-170-11
*Language:* Thai
*Title:* Not given, except for *nā ton lem sāng k kh*, 'first page, second book, k-kh,' on front cover [Book 2 of an elementary Thai language lesson book]. See colophon for further details.

*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Language teaching material
*Number of folios:* 38 ff., unnumbered
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Heavy bark paper
*Size:* 33.1cm. × 10.3cm.
*Script:* Thai script

*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Unknown. Manuscript was found in Museum in 1955. The accession number would indicate that it was acquired in 1929 or before.

*Comments:* Book consists of one long heavy piece of bark paper folded in accordion style. The paper is colored black, and the writing is in a yellow ink. On the front cover there appears in Thai the title "*nā ton lem sāng k kh*," "first page, book 2, k-kh," and in English, in white ink, "For Miss Elizabeth Royce From E. R. Bradley," and "Vol. 2nd." On the inside cover there is written in white ink, "This volume is a specimen of the Siamese books. The paper is manufactured of the bark of a tree, the ink from a yellow stone, whiting and gum, and it is written with a bamboo pen. This volume contains a part of the tables forming the Elementary lessons." At the top of the first page there is written in English in white ink, "A part of the table with the final B. pronounced P." The text contains three long listings of words, in the traditional method of teaching Thai to school children, and three accompanying reading lessons.

*Colophon: tang tǣ k kh čhon čhob kǣi kab thang ni thān 'u thā hǭn sam rab thuk mǣ sin sumud lem kab nā nưng kab 7 bai lǣ.*

Section A.

*List begins: fop fap fāp fip . . .*

*List ends:. . . hāp hīap hīŭap hǣp*

*Accompanying story begins: lao kop čhop bǣp chabap khrang nī čha klap pradap pradid khid klǭn. nok kračhāp / 'āp 'ao kēsān khāp klǣp thlǣp čhǭn pai čhap ton būap sŭap sāp.*

Section B.

*List begins: kom kam kām kim . . .*

*List ends: . . . hūam hīam hīŭam hǣ*

*Accompanying story begins: rīŭang khwām nī nām nai kom / chīŭ wā yā khom. nam nom nam tom som makhām khun nāng / num num nung pum dū ngām hom phā yām khrām pai thām khǭ khwām tām tham nīam.*

Section C.

*List begins: kœ̄i kāi kāo kiu . . .*

*List ends: . . . hum ham hǭ̄ hŭ*

*Accompanying story, titled* rŭang kœ̄i bot surāngkhanāng 28, *begins: 'ān čham kham kœ̄i dek thang lāi 'œ̄i. dū hai thūa nā nok kœ̄o khon khīeo tūa / dīeo 'ē kā had čhēračhā khlāi khon pūd kan.*

M34.

*Accession number:* 29-170-12
*Language:* Thai
*Title:* Not given [Christian proselytizing book]
*Author:* Not given
*Category:* Christianity
*Number of folios:* 39 ff., unnumbered
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Heavy bark paper
*Size:* 19cm. × 8cm.
*Script:* Thai script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Excellent
*Donor:* Unknown. Manuscript was found in Museum in 1955. The accession number would indicate that it was acquired in 1929 or before.

*Comments:* Book consists of one long heavy piece of bark paper folded in accordion style. The paper is colored black, and the writing is in a yellow ink. About this, see comments for manuscript M33 above. On outside cover is written, in white, in English, "A Siamese Book." On the verso of this is written in English the following note: "—Miss E. A. Royce / I have directed one Siamese / book to you, but I fear it will be too / large to be sent to you therefore I add / this small one. / E.R.B. [E. R. Bradley]."

*Colophon: kong ka pačhao tang lai ni.*

*Text begins: khǭng khāphčhao thang lāi nī thŭad. lœ̄w phra yēsū / chŭng trat 'īk wa tha thān thang lāi nū čhai prōid sīa dai / sŭng phū tham phid kœ̄ tūa dai lœ̄o phra bidda čhung čha prōid khwām / phid khǭng tūa dai. tha thān mai prōid khwām phid khāng khon / . . .*

*Text ends: sid thang pūang tāng khon tāng ka lā phra yēsū čhao.*

M35.

*Accession number:* 51-9-1
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

Section A.

*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 22 ff., lettered *ga* to *gham*
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 58.5cm. × 6cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good–fair

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges were once gilded. Colophon at end. Additional colophonic (and/or invocational) material on f. *gham* verso, otherwise blank. Upper right side of f. *gham* broken, destroying text. A few worm holes. Black powder rubbed into incisions. On many folios the stain of the varnish used to give the letters a brown appearance either has remained on the folios—staining different folios in varying degrees—but has not taken in the incisions, has taken in the incisions but remains so thick around the letters that it interferes with easy reading, has sometimes remained so much in the incisions that it is difficult to read the letters, has taken in some letters but not others on the same folio, was put on so heavily on one side of a folio that the letters of one side show through to the other side thereby making the text difficult to read, or is somewhat splattered on the folio thereby also making it somewhat difficult to read the text. The stain has not been applied to all the folios. The script has a somewhat awkward appearance.

Section B.

*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 28 ff., lettered *ga* to *ge*, *gai* and *g*ai on same f., *go*, *gam* to *ghaḥ*, and *na* to *nu*, with 1 unlettered cover folio. Text continuous and complete.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 55.5cm. × 4.7cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script or Lao *tham* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good–poor

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Final colophon at end. Edges colored red on top and bottom. Edges on right and left frayed on most folios, and extremely frayed on first folio (unlettered) and last two folios (ff. *ni* and *nu*). Surface of next to last folio (f. *ni*) worn off in spots, especially on verso, destroying some text and leaving strips of fiber which are only

loosely attached to the folio. This process is beginning on the last folio (f. *nu*) also. Black powder rubbed into incisions. Varnish, giving letters brown appearance, rubbed in on parts of some folios only. The varnish often leaves stains around the incised letters. Some interlinear corrections in black ink. Lengthy addition incised and colored in with powder in upper margin of f. *ghi* verso. The script is neat, clear, even, regular, and slightly ornamental.

M36.

*Accession number:* 51-9-2
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified text(s)
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 16 ff., blank cover folio + 15 ff. numbered 1 to 15 on recto
*Number of lines:* 4–6
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 44cm. × 5.4±cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Black powder rubbed into incised letters. Some chipping away of edges on parts of first few folios, which does not interfere with text. Worm holes in a very few places, but these only partially destroy some of the letters. The lateral hole on the right has been greatly enlarged by a worm hole. The quality of the leaves has forced the scribe to do a number of unusual things: 1) Some lines are not spaced evenly as the scribe was trying to avoid a section of leaf (e.g., ff.2 verso, 3 verso, 5 recto and verso, and 7 recto); 2) in some cases it appears that a space was left between two sections of continuous text in order to avoid a section of leaf (e.g., ff.2 recto, line 2 and 11 recto, line 1). It is not clear, however, whether some of these spaces in the text are due to the leaf or are marking a natural division in the text (e.g., ff.2 recto, line 4 and 15 recto, line 2). F.11 recto, line 1 has left a space in the text definitely in order to mark a division. A colophon is present. The script is neat, but has a somewhat awkward appearance nevertheless.

M37.

*Accession number:* 51-9-3
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 31 ff., lettered *ka* to *ñā*.
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 44.8cm. × 3.6cm.

*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good

*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Black powder, now somewhat faint against the dark color of the palm leaves, rubbed into incised letters. Varnish has been applied over some lines or very small sections of text in a very few places, giving these sections of text a brown appearance. Bottom of first folio (f. *ka*) is slightly chipped away destroying some text on both sides of the folio, though the text can still be made out from the parts of the letters remaining. Hole in leaf on right side of f. *na* interferes with a bit of text. The cut of f. *na* is such that the bottom line of the recto and the top line of the verso have been indented, since there was not enough space to write the letters at the beginning of the line. Final colophon appears to be present. The script is neither florid nor very neat, but rather gives the impression of being very ordinary.

M38.

*Accession number:* 51-9-4
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* First section of unidentified text
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist (?)
*Number of folios:* 45 ff., lettered *ka* to *ghe* + 2 unlettered and blank ff., and strung at end of text 1 unlettered title folio. Lacks end?

*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 54.8cm. × 5cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* Not given (?)
*Scribe:* Not given (?)
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges colored red. Black powder rubbed into incised letters. Varnish applied to most folios, giving letters brown appearance. Stain from varnish on parts of f. *kau* results in making some of the letters difficult to read. Ff. *ki* and *kī* have in each case a section of the left side of the folio broken off, but the separated sections have been carefully repaired by sewing on a sliver of palm leaf with white thread at the top and bottom of each folio at the break. The left side of f. *kā* has broken off and is lost. Only one-third of f. *kai* remains, the right two-thirds having broken off and been lost. If a colophon is present, I cannot determine where it begins. Two title pages present, one for entire text, one for section here only. Script neat and not ornamental.

M39.

*Accession number:* 51-9-5
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

Section A.

*Language:* Pali
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 17 ff. + 1 fragment. See comments with regard to letters of folios.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 53cm. × 4.4cm.
*Script:* Lao *tham* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Poor

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Edges of each leaf stained red. Varnish applied over incised letters, giving most of the text a somewhat brown appearance. Left side of each folio broken off either partially or totally. Because of this the letters ordering the folios are missing in many cases and much text is missing. Those folio letters which can be made out are *ci*, several in the "*jha*" series—sometimes only enough of the letter to be able to determine that the folio belongs to this series, and *ña*. Colophons do not appear to be marked off. Script appears to be somewhat more simplified and perhaps more cursive in appearance than the "standard" varieties of Lao *tham* script. It nevertheless appears to be elegant.

Section B.

*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 2 ff., lettered *go*(?) and *gaṃ*
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 51.5±cm. × 4.3cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script, perhaps Lao *lu* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Fair

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Black powder rubbed into incised letters, with varnish applied to a few sections of text or to a few words only. Parts of right and left margins chipped off. The script is written in a small and well-controlled hand, but nevertheless gives an elegant appearance. There is a fair amount of interlacing between the lines.

M40.

*Accession number:* 51-9-6
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified text(s)
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 18 ff., lettered *ga* to *ge, go, gau, gaḥ, gha* to *gho*. Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 58.5cm. × 5cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges of folios colored red and gold. Right and left edges of palm leaves frayed, chipped, and in some cases worm eaten. Two vertical lines in black ink on either side of a line of text in Lao or a related dialect on f. *ga* verso appear to mark off a title. There appears to be colophonic material, in Lao or a related dialect, on ff. *gu* recto, line 2; *ge* recto, line 4; *ghu* verso, lines 1–2; *ghe* recto, line 1; *ghai* verso, lines 4–5; *gho* recto, line 2; and *gho* verso, line 2. There also appear to be section divisions (?), without colophons, marked on ff. *gha* recto, line 5; *ghi* recto, line 4; and *ghe* verso, line 2. With regard to the first of these latter, there is writing in Lao or a related dialect, in black ink, in the left margin of the verso of the folio. With regard to the second, the word *jiro* (?) appears in black ink in the left margin of the folio. Writing in Lao or a related dialect in black ink also occurs in the lower right of the recto and upper left of the verso of f. *ghe*. As noted above, a colophon does not appear to be present at this point.

M41.

*Accession number:* 51-9-7
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 18 ff., lettered *caḥ* to *ju*. Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 53.4cm. × 4.5cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Fair–poor
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Edges of folios colored red. Black powder rubbed into incised letters. Varnish applied, giving the letters a brown appearance. Center of upper side of most folios chipped away,

destroying—or making it difficult to read—some text. Most of f. *cho* has been broken off, with the result that only a small section of the text is present. Script is slightly ornamental, but does not display a flowing elegance.

M42.

*Accession number:* 51-9-8
*Category:* Canonical and non-canonical Buddhist, texts and commentaries
*Number of folios:* 22 ff., lettered *ri* to *laḥ*. Lacks beginning and end.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 56cm.×4.9cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Fair–poor
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Section of a compendium of *sutta* material, perhaps meant to be used for magico-religious purposes. In each case there is a brief Pali text followed by text in a Lao dialect. Two lateral holes with tie cord. Letters blacked in. Red marks cover ornamental devices before and after titles. Red marks also inserted at various points in the text, and used to cover over, or erase, several syllables. Some mistakes indicated by a vertical stroke above the letters in question, which strokes have been blacked in. Edges of folios, particularly on right side of manuscript, frayed and mangled. Part of text on right side of first two folios (ff. *ri* and *rī*) broken off. A small section on upper right of third folio (f. *ru*) also broken off, resulting in destruction of some of the text at that point. Small hole in center of f. *li*, but text can still be made out. Edges of all folios colored red and gold. Folios very soft and pliable. Writing neat, with the lines of some letters doubled, but not ornamental or elegant. For contents of texts in Sections A and B see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. The *suttas* of the other sections are not noted by Malalasekera, and their text is not represented in Frank Lee Woodward, *Pāli Tipiṭikaṁ Concordance*, arr. and ed. by E. M. Hare, 3 vols. (London: published for the Pāli Text Society by Luzak, 1952–1966).

Section A.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title:* *Aggapphasādasutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 1 f.; f. *ri* recto, lines 1–5. End only.

Section B.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title:* ["*Sabrahmakāni*" *Sutta*] *Sabrahmakasutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 5 ff.; ff. *ri* recto, line 5 to *re* verso, line 2

*Text begins: sabrahmakāni bhikkhave tāni kalāni ye saṃkalānaṃ puttānaṃ mātāpitaro ammāgāre pū*[.]*itāho . . .*

Section C.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title: Nirayūpapattisutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 3 ff.; ff. *re* verso, line 3 to *ro* verso, line 4

*Text begins: iṭāhaṃ bhikkhave* [.]*akaccaṃ maggalaṃ paduṭṭhacikkaṃ* [.]*a vaṃcetasāveto pariccapajānāmi. . . .*

Section D.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title: Sugatūpapattisutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 3 ff.; ff. *ro* verso, line 4 to *raṃ* recto, line 4

*Text begins: ivāhaṃ bhikkhave* [.]*akaccaṃ muggalaṃ pasannacittaṃ* [.]*a vaṃcetasāceto pariccapajānāmi. . . .*

Section E.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title: Devānaṃ cavanasutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 6 ff.; ff. *raṃ* recto, line 4 to *lī* verso, line 1

*Text: yadā bhikkhave devā devakāyā cava/na vamo hoti sakedeto devāsanenabhiratīti.*

Section F.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title: Patthanasutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 5 ff.; ff. *lī* verso, line 1 to *lai* recto, line 5

*Text: tīṇimāni bhikkhave sudhāni patthayamāno sīlaṃ rakkheyya paṇḍito kitamānitīṇi.*

Section G.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title: Māpuñabhāyanasutta*
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 5 ff.; ff. *lai* recto, line 5 to *laḥ* verso, line 1

*Text: bhikkhave avivacanaṃ itthassa yantassa piyassa manāpassa yad idaṃ puñānīti.*

Section H.

*Language:* Pali text and commentary in Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* of text, —; of commentary, —
*Number of folios:* 1 f.; f. *laḥ* verso, line 1 to *laḥ* verso, line 5. Beginning only.

*Text:* [.]*ka dhammo bhikkhave bhāvito gahulīkato ubho atthe samadhi gayaḍatāpphatidipphadhammika ñevasambharāyikañāti.*

M43.

*Accession number:* 51-9-9
*Language:* Pali, with supplementary prayers or perhaps colophonic material in Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 19 ff., lettered *ka* to *khi* + 1 folio unlettered but having either colophonic material or a prayer on its recto in Lao or a related dialect, 2 blank folios, and 1 folio containing probably a prayer on its verso, also in Lao or a related dialect. See comments for additional remarks on the lettering of the folios.
*Number of lines:* 4
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 51.8cm. × 4.4cm.
*Script:* Lao *tham* script or Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Good, after first two folios
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Letters blacked in. Mistakes stricken through with stylus, sometimes blacked in, sometimes not. Some omitted letters added interlinearly, their place in the text being marked

with a cross [X]; these not blacked in. F. *kai* was originally lettered *ko*, black powder having been rubbed in over the syllable *ko* but not the syllable *kai*. F. *ko* was originally lettered *kao*, but the distinguishing line between *ko* and *kao* has been stricken through with a stylus. F. *kao* was relettered from *kaṃ* or *kŭ* in the same fashion as *kai* from *ko*. F. *kŭ* (?) has been relettered *kaṃ*, and f. *kha* has been relettered *kaḥ* (?). F. *kha* was originally lettered *khā*, but the modification mark for the long *ā* has been stricken through, and ff. *khā* and *khī* appear to have been lettered in accordance with the changes since black powder has not been rubbed over either letter. The script of the text is neat and clear, but not grandiose, ornate, or elegant as Lao *tham* script tends to be. Some interlacing, as in Lao *lŭ* script, in the Lao or related dialect addenda.

*Text begins: . . . / arahato samma sambuddhassa* [.] *puddhaṃ samaye. santa santa. cittātissaraṇa saraṇā*[.]*tthahokantaraivābhammābhammā ca devā*[.] *guṇa-gaṇagaha . . .*

*Text ends: hiri aratta* [.] *samaphannā sukkhā dhammā samāhi/yya maham tā-sante sapurissa loke devadhammātivuccarai santi. pakhā apphatana santi. sādā avañcanāmātāpitā ca*[.] *ni khandha*[.]*ātavedapphattikamma ārerā*[*ggyaṃ* (?)].

*Colophonic material in text:*

f. *ki* verso, line 2—[. .] *tena saccana suvatti hotu.*

f. *kū* verso, line 1—*karaṇiyamettasuttaṃ*

f. *kao* recto, line 2—*noravadhammaṃ a*[*cca* (?)]*ssareyyātha. atha saṅgha anus-sareyyā dhara supaṭippanne bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho* [. .] *paṭipphanno bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho ñāya paṭipphanna* [. .]*vato savaka saṅgho sāmvi-paphipphanne . . .*

M44.

*Accession number:* 51-9-10
*Language:* Lao or related dialect
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 19 + ? ff., all unlettered. Lacks beginning. Lacks end?
*Number of lines:* 6

*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 55cm.×4.7cm.
*Script:* Lao *yuon* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Poor
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Leaves of folios very thin and not at all stiff. In many places they are stuck together in such a way that they cannot be separated without destroying the folios. In a number of cases entire folios are stuck to-

gether. The edges on the right and left side of all folios are frayed, and in many cases the fiber of the leaf gives the folios a tassled appearance. The edges of the folios have red coloring applied to them.

M45.

*Accession number:* 51-9-12
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

Section A.

*Language:* Pali
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 9 ff., lettered *ku*, *ke*, *khu*, *gu*, *gū*, *ge*, *gai*, and *gaḥ*, with 1 folio having letter broken off.
*Number of lines:* 9–10
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 57.5cm.×6cm.
*Script:* Lao *tham* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good–fair

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Two leaves (ff. *ku* and *ke*) contain a few syllables which have been marked for omission by vertical lines in black ink through them or over them. One (f. *ke*) contains an interlinear insertion in black ink. F. *gaḥ* and the unlettered folio have a small section of leaf on each which is chipped off at such a point as to destroy some text. F. *khu* is split in several places along its upper section, destroying much text. F. *gu* recto reads in the upper left margin, "*ākhyāta kăn 2 lê va*"; f. *gai*, "*kăn 3 lê va*"; f. *gaḥ*, "*kir ton kăn 2 lê va.*" F. *gū* verso has some Lao or related dialect material written in ink in left margin. The script is small, neat, distinct, attractive but not ornamental, and gives the impression of having been written by a very well-controlled hand.

*F.* ku *recto begins: goṇahutānaṃ goṇānaṃ sattānaṃ yogavihāgena dajhivo pāto daṭhakkho* [.] *suhinā such suhinā k*[.]*accete sucasakkhassevato saddassa goṇādeso hākirā goṇa sugoṇe hi gonebhi goṇena viti kim attaṃ . . .*

Section B.

*Language:* Lao-ized Pali
*Title:* Unidentified
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist
*Number of folios:* 3 ff., lettered *ki* and *ku*, with 1 folio having letter broken off.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 52.5cm.×4.5cm.
*Script:* Lao *tham* script
*MS. date:* —
*Scribe:* —
*Condition:* Good

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. One folio has its left margin broken off. Script neat and very slightly ornate for some characters only.

*F.* ki *recto begins: nivārassaṃ du*[.]*uṃ karoti. me vārijusukāro vahejinaṃ viri-thovatharehakhitto okkam okatammabbhato . . .*

Section C.

*Item:* Two very small miscellaneous fragments of leaves in Lao *yuon* script, each coming from a different manuscript. The language is a dialect of Lao. The writing of one folio, lettered *nā*, is neat and attractive, without being ornamental. That of the other tends to be less well-proportioned and has a somewhat cluttered appearance, though the lines do not interlace in as extreme a form as in Lao *lu* script.

M46.

*Accession number:* 51-9-11
*Language:* Thai-ized Khmer, with short Sanskrit passage at beginning
*Title: Braḥ anattalakkhaṇa tnetmāprasangaṃ. Pluk 3.*
*Author:* Not given
*Category*: Non-canonical Buddhist, philosophy
*Number of folios:* 32 ff., lettered *ga* to *nai*, + 2 blank folios and title folio.
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaves
*Size:* 58.8cm. × 5.5cm.
*Script:* Khmer *mūl* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Very good
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes with tie cord. Powder rubbed into incisions. Edges of folios stained gold and black. Ff. *ga* and *gā* are blank and unlettered. Some marginal comments, insertions, and corrections in black ink. Some mistakes covered over with yellow. Mold is growing around some of the lateral holes. The top layer of the leaves, particularly on last folios, has begun to come off, especially around the left tie cord holes. This has not interfered with the text, however. The area around the left lateral hole on f. *nū* has broken away, making a very large hole which, nevertheless, does not interfere with the text.

*Colophon: hmāṅ hnu' braḥ āčārahā četaṇā sraṅ braḥ aṇattalakkhaṇa vai nai braḥ bud sāsṇā khca hè / pne ni sai bāta čè pai byākkā hān khča pāññalàṃ lteu pral-teuyaṅ 2 khnu' pai nān thteu nibhān pāčča ye hetu.*

*Text begins: parato parigato guččhato suñato asyāpi kato anisyarato avas avattito ti ādihikāraṇe hi ananta to pasyati.*

*Text ends: evāṅ ka pīḍčāy pakāra čhanī.*

M47.

*Accession number:* 51-9-13
*Language:* Khmerized Sanskrit
*Title:* —
*Author:* —
*Category:* Buddhist, doctrinal poetry
*Number of folios:* 1 f., lettered *nei*
*Number of lines:* 5
*Material:* Palm leaf
*Size:* approximately 53.6cm. × 5.3cm.
*Script:* Khmer *mūl* script
*MS. date:* Not given
*Scribe:* Not given
*Condition:* Very poor
*Donor:* Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler (Miss Christine B. Harris), 1951. Collected by the donor.

*Comments:* Two lateral holes. Black powder rubbed into incisions. The right and left edges of the folio are frayed. The folio has been folded over on itself six times and the sections are separating or have separated from one another. Some mold growing on the folio, especially near the folds.

*Text on recto side begins: 55 čitra sàṃḍnè vedanā saṅgaha yutti kārdonei bhènei časàṃ ḍṅè hetu saṅgaha 2.*

# Sixteenth-Century Imprints in the University Libraries: Third List of Additions

M. A. SHAABER*

THE following list supplements that printed in *Sixteenth-century imprints in the libraries of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1976). The first and second lists of additions were printed in *The Library Chronicle* XLI, 1977, pp. 103–118, and XLII, 1978, pp. 113–127.

**Altdorf.** Ordo quatuor facultatum siue breuis descriptio Prælectionum, & Exercitationum Academiæ Altorphinæ. Altorphij, Excudebat Nicolaus Knorr. Anno M. D. LXXXVI. 4°. A–B$^4$.

**Arezzo.** Liber statutorum Arretii. Florentiæ, In Officina Georgii Marescoti. MDLXXX. fol. ❧$^2$ A–R$^6$. pp. 1–200. (Lea.)

**Aristophanes.** *Αριστοφανους ευτραπελωτατου κωμωδίαι ἕνδεκα.* Aristophanis facetissimi comoediae vndecim. . . . Francofurti apud Pet. Brubachium, anno XLIIII. (*Colophon.*) 8°. *a*–*ω*$^8$ (–*a*2–3) A–M$^8$ N$^4$. ff. 1–286.

**Aristotle.** *De virtutibus. Greek & Latin.* *Αριστοτελους περι αρετων.* Aristotelis de Virtutibus. Per Antonium Pichonium Carthensem . . . Parisijs, Ex officina Thomæ Brumennij . . . 1577. 4°. A–B$^4$. ff. 2–8.

**Aristotle.** *Ethica. Latin.* Aristotelis ad Nicomachum filium de Moribus, quæ Ethica nominantur, libri decem: Ioachimo Perionio interprete Per Nicolaum Gruchium correcti, & emendati. Cum . . . indice, & argumentis . . . ab Ioanne Herbetio Lotharingo nunc primùm adiectis. Parisijs, Ex Typographia Dionysij à Prato . . . 1579. 4°. ã$^6$ A$^4$ B–R$^8$ S$^{10}$. ff. 1–142.

**Aristotle.** *Magna moralia. Latin.* In hoc libro contenta. Opus Magnorum Moraliũ Aristotelis, duos libros cõplectẽs: Girardo Ruffo Vaccariẽsi interprete. Eidem nouę traductioni è græco in latinum, adiectus ad literam cõmentarius . . . Altera eiusdẽ operis magnorum moralium interpretatio,

* Professor M. A. Shaaber died on December 10, 1979. At the time of the compilation of this supplement, he was John Welsh Centennial Emeritus Professor of English History and Literature and Curator of the Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library.

per Georgium Vallam Placentinum iampridem elaborata: & breuiusculis annotationibus explicata. Parisijs. Ex officina Simonis Colinæi. 1522. (. . . die vero vicesima Septembris.) fol. a–n$^{8}$ o$^{10}$. ff. 2–114.

**Aristotle.** *Magna moralia. Latin.* Magnorum Moralium Aristotelis libri duo. Gerardo Ruffo Vaccariensi . . . interprete. Parisijs, Ex officina Prigentij Caluarini . . . 1555. 4°. A–M$^{4}$. ff. 2–48.

**Augsburg.** *Diocese.* Decreta synodalia dioecesis Augustanæ, Dilingæ mense Iunij anno M. D. LXVII. promulgata, Præsidente . . . Othone, . . . Episcopo Cardinale Albanensi & Augustano. . . . Dilingæ excudebat Sebaldus Mayer. 4°. *–**$^{4}$ A–Z$^{4}$ a–e$^{4}$. ff. 2–112.

**Azpilcueta, Martín ab.** Enchiridion siue manuale, de oratione et horis canonicis. Ante annos triginta Sermone Hispano Conimbricæ compositum & æditum. Autore Martino ab Azpilcueta Doctore Nauarro. Nunc autem Romæ anno 1577. recognitum auctum, & latinitate donatum ab eodem . . . Romæ, Apud Iosephum de Angelis M.D.LXXVIII. (*Device, colophon.*) 4°. *$^{4}$ A–Rr$^{8}$ Ss$^{6}$ a–b$^{8}$ [c]$^{2}$. pp. 1–649. (Lea.)

**Barlezio, Marino.** Gli illustri et gloriosi gesti, et vittoriose imprese, fatte contra Turchi, Dal Sign. D. Giorgio Castriotto, detto Scanderbeg . . . Nouamente ristampati . . . In Vinegia, Presso Altobello Salicato. 1584. . . . 4°. *–**$^{4}$ A–Y$^{4}$. ff. 1–87. (Lea.)

**Barrio, Gabriele.** Gab. Barij Francicani. Pro lingua Latina libri tres. De aeternitate vrbis liber vnus. De laudibus Italiae. Liber vnus. (Romæ apud D. Hieronymã de Cartularijs idibus sextilibus . . . M.D.LIIII.) 8°. ✠$^{8}$ A–DD$^{8}$. pp. 1–431.

**Bible.** *Italian.* Bibbia volgare: Laquale contiene in se tutti i libri del Vecchio & Nuouo testamento . . . Nuouamente riscontrata con la latina autentica, con licentia della S. Inquisitione ristampata . . . In Vinegia appresso Girolamo Scotto M D LXVII. fol. *$^{4}$ A–Yy$^{8}$ Zz$^{4}$. pp. 1–712. (Lea.)

**Bible.** *Latin.* [1] Sacrae scripturae et diuinarum literarum Byblia uniuersa. Cum . . . D. Erasmi Roterod. uersione noui testamenti, iuxta priorem apposita. Praemissis ubiq; & D. Hieronymi prolegomenis, & insuper Proœmio . . . Ioannis Brentij . . . Lipsiae ex officina Nicolai VVolrab. M. D. XLIIII. (*Colophon.*) fol. π$^{18}$ (*numbered* 2–16) a–z$^{6}$ A–3B$^{6}$ 3C$^{8}$. pp. 2–867. [2] Nouum Testamentum . . . Lipsiae apud Nicolaum VVolrab. Anno M. D. XLIII. aa–zz$^{6}$ AA–LL$^{6}$ MM$^{4}$. pp. 3–416. [3] Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca et Latina nomina . . . Lipsiae anno M. D. XLIIII. (. . . Impensis . . . Sebastiani Reusch, ciuis Lipsensis. . . .) 3a–3z$^{6}$. (Lea.)

**Bible.** *Old Testament. Selections.* Τὰ ἱερὰ παράλληλα. Parallela sacra, Hoc est, Locorum veteris Testamenti cum ijs, quæ in nouo citantur, coniuncta commemoratio, Ebraicè & Græcè. I. Drusius transscripsit: conuertit in Latinum: & notas adiecit. . . . Franekerae, Excudebat Ægidius Radæus . . . 1588. 4°. A–Q$^4$. pp. 4–124.

**Blaurer, Ambrosius.** Ir gwalt ist veracht ir kunst wirt verlacht Irs liegens nit gacht gschwecht ist jr bracht Recht ists wiess Gott macht. Ambrosius Blaurer. [Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart,] M. D. xxiiij. 4°. A–B$^4$.

**Bovero, Baldassare.** Muta pensiero, ouer specchio d'essempi. Di molti, che hanno donato, distribuito, fatto sicurtà, & prestato il suo; onde sono diuenuti poueri. Raccolti, espressi, & figurati dal Reuerendo Prete Baldassar Bouero. . . . In Ferrara, per il Baldini . . . 12°. A$^{12}$. ¶*In verse.*

**Brandenburg.** *Albrecht Alcibiades, margrave.* Dess Durchleüchtigen/ hochgepornen Fürsten vñ Herren Herren Albrechten/ Marggrafen zů Brandenburg/ dess jüngern/ . . . gemain Aussschreyben vñ vrsachen diser fürgenomen Expedition. Gedruckt zů Augspurg/ Durch Hans Zimmerman [1552]. 4°. A–B$^4$. ¶*Another edition of* B661.

**Bugenhagen, Johann.** Io. Pomerani in D. Pauli ad Romanos Epistolam . . . Haganoæ, per Iohan. Secer. Anno M. D. XXXI. Mense Iulio. (*Colophon.*) 8°. [a]$^8$ A–X$^8$ Y$^4$. ff. 1–171. (Yarnall.)

**Cassianus Bassus.** Constantini Caesaris selectarum præceptionum, de Agricultura Libri uiginti, Iano Cornario . . . interprete. Basileae anno M D XXXVIII . . . (. . . ex officina Frobeniana per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. . . .) 8°. α$^4$ a–z$^8$ A$^8$ B$^4$. pp. 2–389.

**Catena, Girolamo.** I. Hieronymi. Catenae de. magno. obelisco circensi circo. Q. Maximo epistola. et. carmen . . . Romae, In ædibus Populi Romani. Apud Georgium Ferrarium. M. D. LXXXVII. . . . 4°. A–B$^4$. pp. 3–16.

**Church of Rome.** *Rota.* Decisiones R.P.D. Iacobi Putei, Sacri Palatij Apostolici Causarum Auditoris, & S.R.E. Cardinalis. Ex causis, tam per ipsum, quàm per alios D. Auditores Rotæ, in eodem Sacro Palatio relatis . . . Hac nouissima editione reuisæ . . . Venetijs, M D XCVIII. apud Alexandrum de Vecchijs. (. . . Apud Marcum de Claseris. . . .) 4°. A$^2$ a–g$^8$ h$^6$ A–Rr$^8$ Ss$^6$. pp. 2–671. (Lea.)

**Chytraeus, Michael.** Capita præcipua Doctrinæ Christianæ, ex Catechesi D. Doct. Martini Lutheri: Et eiusdem Precatio, contra hostes verbi diuini, Et pro conseruatione Pacis . . . pro simplicibus discipulis, Elegiacis reddita Carminibus . . . Anno M.D.LXXX. 8°. A–E$^8$.

**Città di Castello.** [1] Liber statutorum ciuitatis Castelli. (Impressum in ciuitate Castelli . . . M. D. XXXVIII. Die. VI. Mensis Iunij . . . sub castigatissima correctione Dñi Christophori Passarini, & Domini Iohānis Galli de Gallis . . . Per Magistrum Antonium de Mazochis Cremonensem, & Nicolaum, & Bartolomeum fratres de Guccijs de·Cortona . . .) fol. A–K$^{8}$ L$^{4}$ (–L4, *presumably blank*). ff. 2–61 [= 79]. [2] Statuta gabellarum ciuitatis Castelli. a–b$^{8}$ (–b8, *presumably blank*). ff. 1–14. [3] Statutum mercantie. . . . (*Colophon.*) 3A$^{10}$ 3B$^{1}$. ff. 1–10. [4] Liber statutorum palatij dominorum priorum. (Lea.)

**[Città di Castello]** (*Colophon.*) Aa–Bb$^{8}$ Cc$^{6}$. ff. 2–22. [5] [*Head-title*:] Statuta curie officialis plani seu dannorum datorum de officio officialis seu notarij. (*Colophon.*) AA$^{8}$. ff. 1–7. (Lea.)

**Clauser, Conrad.** De educatione puerorum liber unus . . . Item, . . . componendi Epistolas & Declamationes Methodus . . . Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum. 8°. a–z$^{8}$ (–z8, *presumably blank*) A–T$^{8}$ V$^{4}$. pp. 4–680. §Al$^{r}$: Artificiosa et facilis declamandi Methodus . . . *Same imprint. Dedication dated 28 September 1554.*

**Cochlaeus, Johannes.** Erclerung der Streittigen artickeln/ der Conuocation zu Marpurg durch Io. Cocleum. (Gedrugkt zu Dressden durch Wolffgang Stôckel .1530.) 4°. A–C$^{4}$.

**Cochlaeus, Johannes.** Pro Scotiae regno apologia Iohannis Cochlei, aduersus personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum . . . M.D.XXXIIII. (Excusum Lipsiæ apud Michaëlem Blum.) 4°. A–E$^{4}$.

**Copie.** Copie de la requeste presentée au conte de Lalaing gouuerneur et grand baillieu de Hainault &c. par les bons Patriotz de la Ville de Bruxelles. Ensemble Leur Requeste presentée aux Deputez des Estatz generaulx . . . Imprimé en la Ville de Bruxelles, par Michiel de Hamont . . . MDLxxvii. 4°. A$^{6}$. (Lea.)

**Corte, Claudio.** Il cauallarizzo di M. Claudio Corte di Pavia. Nel quale si tratta della natura de'Caualli, del modo di domarli, & frenarli . . . In Venetia Appresso Giordano Ziletti . . . [1562.] 4°. *$^{4}$ A–II$^{4}$. ff. 9–130. ¶*Date erased.* (New Bolton Center.)

**Eid.** Vom Christlichen Ayd/ durch wôlchen namen/ er solle geben vnd genōmen werden/ bericht auss Gôttlichem Recht. Durch ain diener des Euangeliums. [Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart, c. 1524.] 4°. A$^{6}$.

**Emmius, Ubbo.** [1] Rerum Frisicarum historiae libri X. . . . [*Ornament.*] Franckerae, Apud AEgidium Radaeum . . . cIↃ. IↃ. xcvi. 8°. *$^{8}$ A–Bb$^{8}$

Cc$^{8+1}$. pp. 1–416. [2] . . . decas altera . . . Franekeræ, Excudebat AEgidius Radæus . . . CIↃ.IↃ.XCVIII. *$^{8}$ ($^{8}$):($^{8}$ A–Bb$^{8}$ Cc$^{2}$. pp. 1–400. [3] . . . decas tertia . . . Lugduni Batauorum, Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Christophorum Raphelengium . . . cIↃ. IↃ. IↃ. *$^{8}$ **$^{4}$ A–Bb$^{8}$ Cc$^{6}$. pp. 1–412. (Lea.)

**Enrico da Susa.** Henrici à Secusia Cardinalis Hostiensis aurea summa, Nicolai Superantij adnotationibus, & quibusdam excerptis ex Summa . . . F. Martini Abbatis (vt ferunt) contemporanei Azonis, & Accursij, illustrata . . . Venetijs, apud Iuntas, M D LXXXI. (*Colophon.*) fol. †$^{10}$ A–Vv$^{8}$. ff. 1–344. (Lea.)

**Equicola, Mario.** Marii Equicoli Oliuetani de mulieribus ad .D. Margaritam Cantelmam. [Ferrariae, Laurentius de Rubeis de Valentia.] 4°. a–b$^{8}$. ¶b7$^{v}$: Mantuae .viii. idus Maias. .M. .D. .I.

**Estienne, Henri.** De criticis vet. Gr. et Latinis, eorúmque variis apud poetas potissimùm reprehensionibus, dissertatio Henrici Stephani. . . . Restitutionis Comment. Seruii in Virg. & magnæ ad eos accessionis Specimen. Parisiis excudebatur, anno M. D. LXXXVII. 4°. *$^{4}$ A–Pp$^{4}$. pp. 1–304.

**Euthymius Zigabenus.** Commentaria in sacrosancta quatuor Christi Euangelia ex Chrysostomi aliorumq̃; ueterum scriptis magna ex parte collecta, Autore quidem Euthymio Zigabono, interprete uero Ioanne Hentenio Nechliniensi . . . Addidimus & in calce confutationem Iudaicæ cuiusdam imposturæ, siue libelli de ficto legali Iesu Christi sacerdotio, ex Suida desumpti. Parisijs Apud Ioannē Roigny . . . 1544. 8°. †–4$^{8}$ a–z$^{8}$ A–Hh$^{8}$. ff. 1–430.

**Explicatio.** Valentini Gentilis teterrimi hæretici impietatum ac triplicis perfidiæ & periurii, breuis explicatio, ex actis publicis Senatus Geneuensis . . . descripta. . . . Geneuæ, Ex officina Francisci Perrini. M. D. LXVII. 4°. A–C$^{4}$ a–r$^{4}$ s$^{2}$. pp. 3–24, 1–139. *Authors: Jean Calvin, Josias Simler, Andreas Hyperius* (*Gheeraerds*), *Johann Wigand, Alexander Alesius* (*Alane*), *Benedictus Aretius* (*Marti*), *Théodore de Bèze.* (Lea.)

**Faballus, Hieronymus.** [1] Hieronymi Faballi Laudensis Ad Decuriones Cremonenses In Controuersia Gymnasiarchiæ Orationes Quinque. Cremonae . . . Apud Vincentium Conctum. M D L XIII. (*Colophon.*) 8°. *$^{8}$ A–BB$^{8}$ CC$^{4}$. pp. 1–402. [2] [*Head-title:*] . . . Oratio Quinta. (*Colophon.*) A–G$^{8}$. pp. 1–106.

**Fabricius, Georg.** [1] Georgij Fabricij Chemnicensis Roma, Liber ad opt. autorum lectionem apprimè utilis ac necessarius . . . Basileæ, per Ioannem Oporinum. (. . . M.D.LI. Mense Martio.) 8°. a–m$^{8}$. pp. 3–188. [2] Georgij Fabricij itinerum Liber unus . . . *Same imprint.* A–G$^{8}$ H$^{4}$. pp. 3–90.

**Faye, Barthélemy.** Bartholomęi Faij . . . energumenicus. Eiusdem Alexicacus . . . Lutetiae. Apud Sebastianum Niuellium . . . 1571. . . . 8°. †$^{2}$ A–BB$^{8}$ (–BB8, *presumably blank*). pp. 1–397. (Lea.)

**Flacius, Matthias, Illyricus.** Ettliche contradictiones, Oder widerwertige lehr des Stenckfelts/ Darauss sein Geist leichtlich kan geprůfet vnd geurtheylet werden. Item/ Beweysung das Stenckfeld die heylige Schrifft verwirffet . . . Item/ ein klares gezeugnuss Hieremie . . . 1556. (Gedrůckt zu Nůrnberg/ durch Johañ vom Berg/ vnd Vlrich Newber.) 16°. A–C$^{8}$ D$^{4}$.

**Gaguin, Robert.** Roberti Gaguini, rerum Gallicarum Annales, cum Huberti Velleii supplemento. In quibus Francorum origo vetustissima & res gestæ, Regumq; Gallicorum omnium . . . vsque ad Henricum II. describuntur. Cum præfatione . . . Io. Wolfii I.C. Francofurti ad Moenum Ex Officina Typographica And. Wecheli. M. D. LXXVII. fol. ã$^{4}$ A–Ff$^{6}$ (–Ff1, Ff6). pp. 1–336. (Lea.)

**Galenus, Claudius.** Cl. Galeni Pergameni de Morborum & Symptomatum differentijs & causis libri sex, Guilielmo Copo Basileiensi interprete. . . . Lugduni, apud Godefridum & Marcellum Beringos, fratres, M. D. XLVII. (*Colophon.*) 16°. a–s$^{8}$. pp. 3–283.

**Giraldi Cinthio, Giovanni Battista.** Discorso di M. Gio. Battista Giraldi Cinthio nobile Ferrarese. Intorno a quello che si conuiene a giouane nobile & ben creato nel seruire vn gran Principe. In Pauia, Appresso Girolamo Bartoli, adi xxiiij. Marzo, M. D. LXIX. 8°. *$^{4}$ A–K$^{8}$. ff. 1–79.

**Grafton, Richard.** [1] [A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same, deduced from the Creation of the vworlde, vnto the first habitation of thys Islande: and so by contynuance vnto the first yere of the reigne of . . . Queene Elizabeth . . . Anno Domini. 1569. . . .] fol. π$^{6}$ (-π1, 3, 4, 6) A–Q$^{6}$ R$^{4}$. pp. 1–192. [2] This seconde Volume, beginning at William the Conquerour, endeth wyth . . . Queene Elizabeth. . . . Anno. 1568. (Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, . . . for Richarde Tottle and Humffrey Toye. Anno. 1569. the last of March. . . .) A–Y$^{6}$ Aa–Yy$^{6}$ 3A–3Y$^{6}$ 4A–4Y$^{6}$ 5A–5Y$^{6}$

6A–6D$^{6}$ 6E$^{2}$ a–b$^{8}$ c$^{6}$ (–c6, *presumably blank*). pp. 1–1369. *S.T.C.* 12147. ¶*Another copy of* G284. (Lea.)

**Grattarolo, Antonio.** Antonij Grataroli philosophi ac medici de immortalitate animae ad mentem Aristotelis. Venetijs. M.D.LIIII. 8°. A–O$^{8}$ (–O8, *blank*). pp. 9–220.

**Homer.** Ομηρου Βατραχομυομαχια. Homeri ranarum & Murium Pugna. Philip: Melanth. . . . VVittebergae excudebat Iohannes Crato.Anno M. D. LVI. 4°. A–B$^{4}$.

**Horatius Flaccus, Quintus.** [1] Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini . . . poemata omnia. . . . Additi sunt Indices . . . duo: vnus . . . per Henricum Stephanum recognitus: alter Thomæ Treteri, ad exemplar Lugdunense . . . accommodatus. Francofurti Apud heredes Andreæ Wecheli, Claud. Marnium & Jo. Aubrium. M. DC. 8°. A–X$^{8}$ Y$^{2}$. pp. 5–294. [2] In Quinti Horatii Flacci . . . poemata . . . Index, Studio & labore Thomae Treteri Posnaniensis collectus . . . *Same imprint.* A–Gg$^{8}$ Hh$^{2}$.

**Ingegneri, Angelo.** Danza di Venere pastorale di Angelo Ingegneri. Nell'Academia de' Sig. Olimpici di Vicenza detto il Negletto. Et l'Innestato in quella de' Signori Innominati di Parma. . . . In Vicenza, Nella Stamperia Noua. M. D. LXXXIIII. . . . (*Colophon.*) 8°. ✠$^{8}$ A–H$^{8}$. pp. 1–126.

**Javello, Crisostomo.** Post peripateticam: academicamq. moralem: diuinae et Christianae philosophiae moralis Dispositio, Pro prima & secunda parte, nunc primo prodiit in lucem: per R. P. F. Chrysostomum Iauellum Canapicium . . . Venetiis, Apud Hieronymum Caualcalupum. 1565. 8°. †$^{8}$ A–EE$^{8}$ FF$^{4}$. ff. 5–228.

**Jordan, Raimond.** Contemplationes idiotae per Iacobū fabrū nuper in lucē æditæ. De amore diuino. De virgine Maria. De vera patientia. De cōtinuo cōflictu carnis & aīæ. De innocentia perdita. De morte. Sub signo Diui Hieronymi. M D XXXVIII. (Venetiis in ædibus Bartholomæi de Zanettis Casterzagensis: Sumptibus vero Ioānis ab ecclesiæ Papiēsis . . . Mense Augusti) 16°. a–q$^{8}$ r$^{4}$. ff. 2–131. (Lea.)

**Le Fèvre, Jacques, d'Étaples.** Artificialis introductio per modū Epitomatis in decē libros Ethicorū Aristotelis adiectis elucidata cōmentariis [Jodoci Clichtovei]. (. . . absoluta est in Alma Parhisiorum academia per Vvolffgangum hopilium et Henricū Stephanū . . . socios Anno . . . 1502. septima Maij.) fol. a–f$^{8}$ g$^{10}$. ff. 2–58.

**Leone, Ambrogio.** Eximii doctoris Ambrosii Leonis Nolani de nobilitate rerum dialogus. Eiusdem ex Aristotele translatum opus de virtutibus. (Venetiis per Melchiorem Sessam, et Petrum de Rauanis socios. MDXXV. mense Septembri.) 8°. a–i$^{8}$ k$^{4}$ A$^{8}$.

**Manuzio, Aldo, the younger.** Oratio de Francisci Medices magni.Etruriae.ducis laudibus Habita ab Aldo Manuccio . . . , XII. Kal. Dec. CIƆIƆ XXCVII Florentiae Ex Typographia Georgii Marescotti. . . . 4°. [A]–B$^{4}$ C$^{2}$. (Lea.)

**Masenetti, Giovanni Maria.** Oratione fatta nella creatione del serenissimo prencipe di Vinetia: Marco Antonio Triuisano, in nome della Pouertà: dal Masenetti Padouano. In Padoua Per Ioanne Battista Amico, M. D. LIII. 8°. A–B$^{4}$.

**Meier, Georg.** De arbore consanguinitatis et affinitatis, regulæ et tabellæ. D. Georgij Maioris. VVittebergæ, excudebat Iohannes Crato. M. D. LIIII. 8°. A–D$^{8}$.

**Mercurialis, Hieronymus.** Hieronymi Mercurialis de arte gymnastica libri sex . . . Secunda editione aucti, & multis figuris ornati. . . . Venetijs apud Iuntas, M D LXXIII. (*Colophon.*) 4°. *$^{6}$ A–C$^{8}$ D$^{10}$ E–S$^{8}$ T$^{10}$ V$^{8}$ X$^{6}$. pp. 2–308.

**Modena.** Prouisioni, decreti, instromenti, Gratie, Litere, Capitoli, & altre cose degne di memoria, a beneficio Della Magnifica Citta di Modona. . . . Stampate in Modona per Giouanni de Nicoli . . . .M.D.XLIIII. 8°. ✠$^{6}$ A–Z$^{8}$ AA$^{6}$. ff. 2–189. (Lea.)

**N., J.** Der schlüssel Dauid. | Ich schleüss auff die finsterniss Egypt | Trôst meine freündt/ nach dem sichs begibt | Zů den die Sonne ir krafft mag han | Mit Pharaon anderst vmb gan | Im sein narren kolben zeygen | Doch/ die frôsch mag nyemant geschweigen. (Dise epistel . . . geschriben ist .M.D.xxiij. iar des drittē tags Ianuarij. J . . . N . . .) 4°. A–C$^{4}$.

**Nas, Johann.** Postilla minorum, Das ist/ Die klainer Postill vnd kürtzeste Ausslegung der hailigen Euangelien/ so auff die Suntåg vnnd fürnembsten Fest/ vom Aduent biss auff Ostern/ Catholisch gepredigt werden. . . . M.D.LXXIII. (Getruckt zů Ingolstatt/ bey dem Jungen Alexander Weissenhorn/ inn verwaltung vnd kosten seiner Mutter Annæ Weissenhórnin.) 8°. :/:$^{8}$ A–Z$^{8}$ a–z$^{8}$ Aa–Mm$^{8}$. ff. 1–460.

**Nicetas Choniata.** [Nice]tae Acominati [Chonia]tæ, Magni Logothetæ Secretorum, . . . LXXXVI annorum historia, uidelicet ab anno restitutæ Salutis circiter MCXVII, in quo Zonaras desinit, usbue ad annum MCCIII,

Libris XIX descripta . . . Opus . . . nunc primùm liberalitate . . . Antonij Fuggeri . . . Græcè Latinecq; editum . . . Hieronymo Vuolfio Oetingensi interprete. . . . Basile[ae apud Ioannem Oporinum Idibus] Augus[ti, Anno 1557.] (. . . ex officina Ioannis Oporini, . . . M.D.LVII. Mense Augusto.) fol. $a^4$ a–$z^6$ A–$F^6$ $G^8$. pp. 2–317. ¶ *T.p. and preliminary ll. defective.* (Lea.)

**Nifo, Agostino.** Ad Syluium Pandonium Bouiani episcopum Eutichi Augustini Niphi Philothei Suessani ad apotelesmata Ptolomaei eruditiones. (Impressum Neapoli per Petrum Mariam de Richis Papiensem. . . . M.D.XIII. Die uero .xxiii. Aprilis.) fol. A–$E^8$ $F^4$. ff. II–XXXXIII. (–F4, *presumably blank*).

**Ochino, Bernardino.** Labyrinthi, hoc est, de libero aut seruo arbitrio, de diuina Prænotione, Destinatione, & Libertate Disputatio. Et quonam pacto sit exijs Labyrinthis exeundem. . . . Nunc primum ex Italico in Latinum translati. Basileae, apud Petrum Pernam [1561?]. 8°. A–$Q^8$ $R^6$. pp. 1–261.

**Osiander, Lucas.** Refutatio Scripti Satanici, à Francisco Puccio, Filidino, in lucem editi; et Goudæ impressi, . . . 1592. Quo (sub splendido titulo, De Christi servatoris efficacitate . . .) omnium Religionum confusionem . . . conatus est. . . . Cum praefatione Facultatis Theologicæ in Academia Tubingensi, & Theologorum in Consistorio Stutgardiano. . . . Tubingæ Apud Georgium Gruppenbachium, anno M. D. XCIII. (*Colophon, device.*) 4°. ):($^4$ 2):($^2$ A–$Bb^4$ (–$Z^4$). pp. 1–197.

**Osiander, Lucas.** Warnung/ Vor der falschen Lehr/ vnd Phariseischen Gleissnerey der Jesuiter. . . . Getruckt zů Tübingen/ bey Ulrich Morharts Wittib. M. D. LXIX. 4°. A–$S^4$ $T^2$. pp. 1–146.

**Pedioneus, Joannes.** In Simonem Gryneum antistitem, pietatis et doctrinae vindicem . . . , Epicedion à Ioanne Pedionëio Rheto, gratitudinis ergô celebratum. Vnà cum Epithaphijs quibusdam. Basileae. (. . . in officina Roberti VVinter, Mense Septembri, Anno M. D. XLI.) 4°. a–$d^4$. pp. 2–29.

**Perugia.** Constitutioni del consiglio delli Quarãta della Città di Perugia. Fatto dall'Illustriss.$^{mo}$ . . . Card. Dom.$^{co}$ Pinello Legato. In Perugia Apresso Pietroiacomo Petrucci. 1591. 4°. $A^8$.

**Piperario, Andrea.** Andreae piperarii Cremoneñ . . . Iulii. II. pont. max. cubicularii or̃o de passione Iesu Christi Redemptoris nostri. (. . . M.D.viii . . .) 8°. $a^{10}$.

**Piperario, Andrea.** Andreae Piperarii Cremoneñ. oro de fragilitate humana ad Leonem. X. Pont. Max. 4°. a$^5$. ¶*Dedication dated VI. Idus Februarii 1516.*

**Rapicio, Giovita.** Iouitae Rapicij de liberis publice ad humanitatem informandis liber. Venetijs MDLI (. . . mense Iunio) 4°. A$^4$ B$^6$.

**Rodríguez, Manuel.** Explicacion de la bulla de la sancta cruzada, y de las clausulas de los Iubileos y Confessionarios que ordinariamente suele conceder su Sanctidad . . . En Salamanca, En casa de Juan Fernandez. M.D.XCVII. . . . 4°. a$^4$ A–Ii$^8$ Kk$^4$. ff. 1–247. (Lea.)

**Rosler, Sebastian.** Oratio die anniuersariae memoriae illustriss. . . . Principis Mauricij Ducis Sax. Princ. El. pronunciata in conuentu solenni ædis Paulinæ, Lipsiæ V. Id. Quintil. An. Christi M. D. LVIII. 4°. A–D$^4$.

**Salviati, Lionardo.** Il lasca dialogo: Cruscata, ouuer Paradosso d'Ormannozzo Rigogoli: riuisto e ampliato da Panico Granacci, Cittadini di Firenze, e Accademici della Crusca: Nel quale si mostra, che non importa, che la Storia sia vera, e quistionasi per incidenza alcuna cosa contra la Poesia. In Firenze, Per Domenico Manzani MDLXXXIIII. (. . . Nella Stamperia di Giorgio Marescotti. . . .) 8°. A–C$^8$ D$^2$. pp. 3–50.

**Salzburg.** *Province.* Constitutiones, et decreta, concinnata atque in Prouinciali Synodo Salisburgensi edita. Anno Domini M. D. LXVIIII. Sub . . . D. Ioanne Iacobo Archiepiscopo Salisburgensi . . . Dilingae Excudebat Sebaldus Mayer. M. D. Lxxiiii. 4°. a–d$^4$ e$^6$ A–3D$^4$ 3E$^6$ 3G$^6$. pp. 1–409. (Lea.)

**Secchi, Niccolò.** La camariera comedia. Del Signor N. S. . . . In Venetia, Appresso Cornelio Arriuabene. 1583. 8°. a$^8$ A–E$^8$. ff. 1–40.

**Seneca, Lucius Annaeus.** L. Ænnæi Senecæ et aliorum tragœdiæ . . . Amsterodami. Sumptibus Societatis. A°. cIↃ IↃ LXVIII. 16°. A–R$^8$ S$^6$. pp. 3–284.

**Simler, Josias.** De republica Heluetiorum Libri duo . . . Tiguri excudebat Christophorus Froschouerus. 1576. 8°. *$^8$ A–Cc$^8$ *$^4$. ff. 1–205.

**Tasso, Bernardo.** I tre libri de gli amori di M. Bernardo Tasso. Ai quali nuouamente . . . s'è aggiunto il quarto libro, per adietro non piu stampato. . . . In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli M D LV. (*Colophon.*) 8°. A–GG$^8$ HH–II$^4$ KK$^8$. pp. 3–496.

**Tasso, Torquato.** Il Goffredo di M. Torquato Tasso. Nuouamente dato in luce. . . . In Vinegia. Appresso Domenico Caualcalupo. A Instantia di Marc'Antonio Malaspina. M D LXXX. 4°. *2 A–P4 Q2. ff. 1–[62].

**Tasso, Torquato.** Rime spirituali del Signor Torquato Tasso . . . In Bergamo, Per Comin Ventura. cIↃ IↃ xcvII. 4°. [a]–b4 A–K4. ff. 1–40.

**Text.** Die verteütschtē Text aus den Bebstlichen Rechten: vnd vil andren glaubwirdigen geschrifftē: daraus sich meniklich allerley mag erkūden wie erbarlich bis her mitt gemeiner Christenheyt ist gehandlet worden. [1521?] 4°. A–E4 F6.

**Theocritus.** [*Θεοκριτου εἰδύλλια . . .*] ([Romae,] *αὐαλώμασι . . . Κορνηλιου βενίγνου . . . πόνω δε καὶ δεξιότητι, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου . . . Ἰανουαρίου, ιέ. χιλιοστῶ πενταποστιοστῶ δεκάτω ἕκτω.* 8°. A–Ω4 *αα–εε*4. §A1r: *Σχολια . . .* *Lacks text* (*α*4 *β–λ*8 *μ*4).

**Thomas Hibernicus.** Flores omnium pene doctorum, qui cùm in Theologia, tum in Philosophia hactenus claruerunt: sedulò collecti per Thomam Hybernicum, & Alphabetico ordine degesti . . . Parisiis, Apud Odoënum Paruum . . . 1555. 16°. a–z8 A–Zz8 AA–CC8 (–CC8, *presumably blank*). pp. [2]–1137.

**Vergerio, Pier Paolo.** De diruta statua Virgilij P. P. V. . . . Epistola. Ex Tugurio Blondi sub Apolline. [Venetiis, c. 1540.] 8°. A–B4. pp. 3–11.

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# Morley Roberts at Owens College

THEOPHILUS E. M. BOLL*

THE recognition due to Morley Charles Roberts (1857–1942), artist in long, medium, and short stories, biographer of George Gissing and W. H. Hudson, travel-writer on North and Central America, essayist, poet, critic, editor, biologist, political scientist, and water-colorist, has been given by those who read him and those who edited him, but has been hampered by the zeal of some scholars who narrowed their interest to the genius of George Robert Gissing. These have tended to belittle Roberts, either from the common fault of criticism, judging without reading, or from jealousy to protect the stature of Gissing, even though that has not the slightest need of the safeguard of reducing a competing writer's merits. No student of the history of the English novel can doubt Gissing's importance after Dickens in the evolution of the contemporary novel of social analysis.

A relatively recent student of Morley Roberts, Oliver Edwards, recognized this reflex disparagement by Gissing specialists in his essay "Up from Avernus" appearing in the *Times* of London on April 29, 1965. He began, "One must start with Gissing, but this article is not about him. It is necessary to say this because there may be some who are bored with that writer and might read no further, in which case yet one more injustice to Morley Roberts would be done." He praised Storm Jameson's pioneer and classic memoir in which she referred to "the last Eminent Victorian" (published first in *The Library Chronicle*, Spring/Summer 1961). He went on: "So far Gissing has kept Roberts's fame alive. One day it will stand on its own. . . . It is time he was 'rediscovered.' "

The first environment in which vague longings toward fame began to build a substantial linguistic foundation was the Bedford Free Grammar School. The second was Owens College in Manchester, where, from 1873 to 1876, Roberts met the most important encourager toward the eminence Storm Jameson appreciated.

Roberts was still fifteen when his father, William H. Roberts, a

* Emeritus Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania.

Surveyor of Taxes working out from Somerset House, ended his assignment at Bedford and bethought himself of the next stage for the education of his promising son, Morley, who had done so well in his studies at Bedford Free Grammar School. Mr. Roberts opted for Manchester as his next assignment so that his son should be able to enjoy the inspiration of the Owens College faculty. Joseph Gouge Greenwood was the Professor of Greek Language and Literature; his *Elements of Greek Grammar* was a solid academic favorite. Augustus Samuel Wilkins, Professor of Latin Language and Literature, won the Cambridge University Burney Prize with his *Phœnicia and Israel.* He was to write books on *Roman Literature*, *Roman Antiquities*, and *Roman Education*, and to edit Horace and Cicero.

Adolphus William Ward was the Professor of English Language and Literature, and Ancient and Modern History. He was to become the coeditor of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, the coeditor of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, and the editor-in-chief of the *Cambridge Modern History*. He wrote the volumes on *Chaucer* and on *Dickens* in the English Men of Letters Series. He wrote *Germany, 1815–1890*, and *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*. He became President of the British Academy. Morley Roberts remained in touch with him until, certainly, 1921.

The Professor of Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy was William Stanley Jevons, whose bibliography was one of the wonders of the academic world. *The Coal Question*, *Elementary Lessons in Logic*, *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, *The Principles of Science*, *The State in Relation to Labour*, and *The Theory of Political Economy* are sample titles of his repeatedly referred-to volumes.

The Professor of Jurisprudence and Law, until 1875, was James Bryce. *The American Commonwealth* was his best known and most often reprinted work. *The Holy Roman Empire*, *Modern Democracies*, *International Relations*, *South America*, *The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind*, and *Studies in Contemporary Biography* sample the range of subjects he treated with exemplary clarity and balance. Americans remember him as England's most respected Ambassador.

The Roberts household established itself in Greenhill House at 138

Carlton Terrace, Greenheys Lane, which was close to where Coleridge had lived briefly, and to Owens College. At that time George Gissing lived in lodgings at 43 Grafton Street, Oxford Road.

Candidates for admission who were younger than sixteen but at least fourteen had to pass examinations in English, Arithmetic, and Elements of Latin. Morley, who would be sixteen on December 29, took the examinations on October 4, 1873, one of thirty-two such candidates, of whom twenty-four were admitted. He registered as an Occasional Student in Arts, Law, and Science for the session beginning on October 7 and ending on June 26, 1874. George Gissing, who was to become a close friend in college and to choose him as his closest friend in London, had taken the examinations the year before, and had won a number of exhibitions that exempted him from fees and paid him too. One of his prizes was the Victoria Entrance Exhibition in Classics, which paid fifteen pounds for one year.

At Bedford Free Grammar School Roberts had been an outstanding student in Greek and Latin. The one distinction he gained at Owens College was honors in the Higher Junior Latin Class in the session of 1873–1874. He was a Regular Student in the following sessions, 1874–1875 and 1875–1876. In 1875 he won a certificate of matriculation at the University of London. Some years later he used this certificate, without success, when he applied for a tutoring position in Australia (*Land-Travel and Sea-Faring*, ch. 51). His name appeared on no lists of examination results, and on no lists of the recipients of the Associate Degree, which was awarded at the end of a successful three years' study and was the equivalent of a baccalaureate.

The only year for which I could recover his registration for specific courses of study was the session of 1875–1876. In that year he took the Lower Junior Class in Greek, the Senior Course in English Language, the English Literature Class (in that year the period covered was from Chaucer to the Elizabethan Age), Modern History, Ancient History, the Lower Junior Higher Section Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Physics, Higher Division Latin Class, and French.

Roberts caught his first glimpse of Gissing and had his first talk with him in a little inn near the College which students frequented. Gissing was sitting on the edge of a billiard table. "I saw in him enthusiasm and that essential simplicity which was so great a charm

and one he never lost even when disaster crowded on him." Even as a boy, Gissing had a pleasant voice and a marked sense of poetic rhythm. Roberts found him an inspiring companion, a natural born hedonist, who loved all foods, even the simplest, as long as they were "fat and succulent" (unpublished manuscript, "Farewell to Letters"). Gissing had the more natural enthusiasm for scholarship, which from the beginning he centered on classical languages and classical history. The brutally tyrannical pressure of Roberts's father upon his boy to distinguish himself must be blamed for inducing a contrariness that interfered with his progress toward a firmly controlling will and that impelled him into bursts and spells of rebellion against a sensible conformity.

Roberts had learned to fish while his father was stationed in Oxford, but his roaming about Manchester to find unpolluted waters for practising his sport ended in total disillusionment. In *A Humble Fisherman* he told how he had found "near the very heart of the city . . . the iridescent horrors of the foul and filthy Medlock. Here commerce and manufacture, hideously triumphant, declared in bubbling gas and rising odours their victory over nature. From that hour I date my bitter detestation of those who, in the name of progress, trample with blackened feet over the flowers and forests of the earth" (56). He said of the Irk: "compared with it the Medlock might have been some stream of Castaly." The Irwell river "committed suicide in the flood of the Mersey, to find at last the purifying seas of Liverpool Bar," and the river Tib was "a buried drain of which few in Manchester have ever heard" (57).

In his last year, 1875–1876, Roberts shared three class sections with Gissing: English Literature, High Division Latin Class, and Ancient History. His remaining courses for that year have already been mentioned. Gissing rounded out that year with an Extra Senior Classics class in Latin and Greek, Comparative Philology, Senior Early English, Higher Junior Greek, and Extra History.

Owens College, at that time still reserved for males, upheld a strong discipline, as we may learn from the cold print of its Bye-Laws, which were adopted April 23, 1873. At his entrance every student was required to sign a statement of submission to the rules and regulations of the College. Perfect attendance in the lecture room was expected of him, and teachers took a daily record. No student might

absent himself on two or more consecutive lectures of any course without leave from the Principal, who was Professor of Greek Language and Literature, the absolute sovereign of disciplinary control. A professor or lecturer could grant a leave of absence for only a single lecture; any case of repeated absence without leave or satisfactory explanation had to be reported to the Principal.

Parents or the guardian of a student received a report of the attendance and conduct during each term. A student who was irregular in attendance or who neglected the work of the class, or who was absent without sufficient excuse from the final or intermediate examinations appointed by the Senate, or who failed at any such examinations to obtain a place upon the published lists, could not claim a certificate of attendance in the course.

Each professor, lecturer, or other official of the College had the duty of reporting to the Principal any breach of discipline or any instance of disorderly conduct on the part of any of the students who might come under his personal observation. Such punishment would be imposed as the College authorities would in each case think fit. Habitual neglect of work in any class, without a good reason being assigned, would be regarded as a breach of discipline and might subject a student to suspension from the class.

Smoking was forbidden in any part of the College or its precincts.

Since all absences from class had to be accounted for to the Principal, and such records still survive, we may recover evidence of the resourcefulness of students for exculpating themselves. Among the defenses students offered were: headache, pain in the head; sick, unwell; illness, seriously ill; a cold, a bad cold; an attack of neuralgia; bilious attack; quinsy, ulcerated throat; rheumatism; indisposition; hurt at football; oversight as to the time; materials not ready; Aunt's funeral, called away to a funeral, funeral of a relative; see letter; in London; away from Manchester.

Morley Roberts generated no record of absences. George Gissing explained his absences from 1873 to 1875 in these terms: unwell; indisposition; cold; burnt his hand; see letter; all accounted for; withdrawn (from Physics).

The records of the Disciplinary Committee were discreetly destroyed, else we might have learned what penalty, if any, Morley Roberts suffered for his having, as he much later admitted, written

and posted in the big lavatory a rhymed lampoon on the Liberal candidates for Parliament, and for having been found out ("My First Book," *The Idler*, 1893).

The Senate did take notice of George Gissing's offense, which was having visited a house of ill repute. The penalty: it expelled him on June 13, 1876. On June 16 it confirmed the expulsion but postponed the question of forfeiting the Shakespeare scholarship he had been drawing on, paying him forty pounds per annum, and tenable for another year. An interesting sidelight on Gissing's expulsion was the dismissal of a fellow student, J. G. Black, who had accompanied Gissing to the alleged house of ill repute and was accused of having been privy to and an abettor of Gissing's profligacy. The boy's father demanded to see the four letters written by his son, which the authorities had taken from Gissing's room and had used as the basis for their dismissing him. After he read the letters, Mr. Black pointed out the proof they contained that his son had accompanied Gissing to Southport in the sincere belief that he had been invited to meet Gissing's intended wife, and that he was therefore not guilty of the Senate's charge that he had abetted Gissing in his profligate life. Mr. Black won his argument and had his son reinstated. The Senate backtracked by declaring that the son's withdrawal from the College was not to be interpreted as a dismissal. The record supports the case for Gissing's innocence, for on October 27, 1879, Gissing was married to Marianne Helen Harrison, after the banns had been read in the Parish Church of St. James, Middlesex, by the Reverend Charles W. Hodson. The Senate left no record in its proceedings of the thefts from students' lockers; these were matters, apparently, for the police and magistracy to rule upon. Profligacy with his bride-to-be remains the official charge for Gissing's expulsion from the College. The grief Roberts suffered from his friend's disgrace can be imagined, and his reaction against the shattering effects of moral judgment upon the inherently innocent can be sensed in his life and throughout his writings.

Students of Gissing may be interested to learn that two students who so far have not been mentioned were registered for the session of 1873–1874: a Walter Ryecroft and a George Harrison Rycroft. My eyes noticed no Maitland; but Robert Maitland, a poet who cannot sell his verses, appears in Roberts's novel *A Son of Empire*, of March 1899.

A quick look at the breadth of the curriculum of the Arts courses at Owens College will modify the assumption that the emphasis of Owens College was on science. In the First Year its choices included Greek, Latin, English Language, Modern History, Mathematics, Mechanics, Chemistry Lectures, French or German; in the Second Year, Greek, Latin, English Language, English Literature, Ancient History, Modern History, Mathematics, Physics, French or German; in the Third Year, Greek, Latin (Higher Division of Senior Latin Class, extra fee fourteen shillings), English Literature, Ancient History, Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy (mathematics), Animal Physiology, or Zoology (lectures only).

The distribution of students in various classes was available for 1873–1874. In the four classes in Greek the students numbered altogether 78; the Greek Testament Class held 22; the four classes in Latin held 126; the three classes in the English Language totalled 148; English Literature drew 28; the four classes in history added up to 105; the four classes in Mathematics numbered 149. For that year the Day Students in Arts, Law and Science totalled 310. There were 862 in the Evening Classes. In 1875–1876 there were 315 Day Students and 553 Evening Students.

The students in the Arts Course were eligible to prepare for matriculation at the University of London for its degrees of B.A. and M.A.

Great happenings and trivial ones stirred students and the Senate in the seventies. On January 30, 1874 the Student Union debated the resolution that the same facilities for education and for engagement in any profession or occupation should be afforded to men and women. That debate was more immediately prophetic than the one on November 27, when the house considered the resolution that cremation was a desirable means of disposing of the dead. On December 11 the Union heard that the Principal, Professor Greenwood, had refused the request of a deputation that he permit the admission of ladies to the meeting to be held on January 29, 1875. On the same evening the Union deliberated on Mrs. Heyward's request that she be paid five shillings instead of the current four shillings, to remunerate her for her services in the tea room on the meeting night. The members resolved to pay her the five shillings, but to hold the line on any further advance until attendance rose enough to justify one, be-

cause the increase in attendance following on Mrs. Heyward's last grant had been slight. In this year George Gissing served on a committee named to canvass for subscriptions to the student publication, the *Owens College Magazine*. Morley Roberts was not named in any connection with the Student Union.

On October 1, 1875, the Council of Owens College recommended the free admission of ladies as "visitors," not as students, of the College, to the following courses of lectures during the session of 1875–1876: Comparative Philology, English Literature, Physics, and Political Economy. In November, the Senate drew up a scheme of classes for the instruction of women. The Arts section would include courses in Latin, Greek, English (including Early), German and French languages, Comparative Philology, and Greek Testament; French, German, Italian, and English Literatures; English (including Constitutional), Ancient, and Modern History; Political Economy, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy; Harmony, and the History of Art; Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Advanced Class in Conics and Differential Calculus; Mechanics, Physics, Astronomy and Metereology; Inorganic and Organic Chemistry, Chemistry Philosophy; Natural Philosophy; Animal Physiology or Zoology; Chemistry lectures; Botany. The plan contemplated an Arts Course and a Science Course. The Arts Course included Greek and Latin in all three years. The Science Course offered a choice in the First Year of either Greek or Latin, but not beyond that; Mathematics, Mechanics, Chemistry lectures, and French or German; in the Second Year Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry lectures, Animal Physiology and Zoology and Botany; and laboratory courses not fewer than two days a week in either Chemistry and Physics, or Physiology from the Second Year on.

On February 12, 1876 the Senate considered a proposal to establish classes for women under the superintendence of the Women's Educational Association. A comprehensive amendment to the proposal suggested establishing classes for women separate from classes for male students. No woman under the age of eighteen years would be admitted. The Senate might require any woman applying for admission to pass an entrance examination. Remuneration of professors and lecturers was to be derived exclusively from a share of the fees to be paid by women students.

The equal but separate amendment, which must have had at least the blessing of the die-hard Principal, was lost by a majority of 6 to 5. The original motion was then carried by a majority of 10 to 2. So, Morley Roberts and George Gissing were witnesses of liberating opinion winning the fight at Owens College for the equal education of women and men. In March of 1876 the Senate circulated a pamphlet proposing the formation of a local university. In June it abolished the distinction between Occasional and Regular students.

Morley Roberts left judgments upon two life-long influences upon him: Owens College, and George Gissing. In an unpublished fragment of autobiography he wrote, "My memories of Owens College are very pleasant, or most of them are. While I was there I was happy, it was when I was at home that I was miserable."

After his return from Australia to his family in Clapham Junction in 1879, he fell into a state of mental torpor out of which he was revived by the announcement of his Owens College friend's novel, *Workers in the Dawn* in 1880. From the time he stepped on board the *Hyderabad* in 1876 bound for Melbourne, and through his years of roughing it in Australia Roberts proved to himself that he could survive in freedom from his domineering father, that his body was tough in endurance and his will equally strong in persevering in an independent existence. But the precious intellect which his father had hoped would lift him to eminence had lost its fervor for creating ideas, had not begun to build confidence in winning any success without the backing of his now-proved prowess of physical strength, and had made no start on planning an area of the mind to cultivate and organize. His instinctive awareness of his need for reinforcement made him seek out Gissing in London. He was thrilled over Gissing's renewed and intensified friendship. He knew he was now in the hands of a guide whose intellectual substance and perceptiveness would help organize and discipline the talents in which he still had a blind confidence. Both in his essay on Gissing in his unpublished "Farewell to Letters" and in the article on Gissing that appeared in the *Queen's Quarterly* in the autumn of 1930, Roberts left a terse but volume-speaking testimonial to Gissing. "He set to work to polish me up, to re-educate me into being his companion. He woke up Greek and Latin in me and watered my literary growth almost with tears. But all the same, even when I read a Greek tragedy with him,

he felt, almost with alarm, that half his pupil was away on horseback, or perhaps in a fo'c's'le."

I admire Morley Roberts's scientific research, his enormous labor to understand and then brilliantly articulate the problems of human biology, and his courage in taking on the role of a prophet inspiring the biological and medical professions, and, last, the politicians, to team together in a comprehensive and cooperative discipline of the biology of man, to study man's evolutionarily developing processes of meeting environmental stresses with efforts at repair. His explanations of the biology of cancer cells sound, at least, to a layman, presciently like the expositions of so advanced a researcher as Lucien Israel. Roberts was intensely alert to the hazards man was risking in his hope for physical and mental survival. But I regret the turn he took away from literature to science, even for so worthy a cause.

I blame that turn upon Gissing's death. Creative writing of the high aim of Morley Roberts is at best a progress on a high wire without benefit of safety nets. The greatly aspiring creative artist needs some balancing staff. He did not have that in his wife, Alice Selous Hamlyn. Roberts's imaginative writing during the eighteen-nineties and on to 1932 was not appreciated for its quality and its truly wonderful versatility in moods. The one person who steadily perceived his quality and his range was T. Greenough Smith, the editor of *The Strand Magazine*. Smith published thirty-seven stories by Roberts from 1901 to 1921, along with stories by Kipling, Doyle, and Jerome. Gissing's death cost Roberts the benefit of strong correction of his over-strenuous bursts of anticonformity, of the example of a steadily sane social vision, of criticism by an extraordinarily sensitive linguistic taste, and the example of patience. It was Gissing who challenged, bullied, and pampered him into discovering and holding his confidence in a genius that first found its clear voice in *The Western Avernus*, and who kept him up to the mark of driving himself so that he might grow. The tutor whom Frederic Harrison could appreciate as the inspiration of his sons was just the tutor the perversely resistant and unstable genius needed as a stabilizing wand for progress on his creative heights.

Roberts's other friend, W. H. Hudson, exerted a mildly encouraging influence on Roberts, but nudged him toward natural rather than

the psychological science that forms the fundamental structure of fiction. This Gissing knew, and it was a science Gissing had mastered. Hudson had exquisite emotional gifts, but his control over the form that fiction must take was far removed from the test of psychological necessity. His insight into human behavior, as contrasted with animal behavior, was too infirm to help Roberts. Probe Hudson anywhere for evidence of that sturdily pressing and critical insight into human motives that a realistic novelist must have to make his discoveries, and despite your vigorous wish to find it, you will be disappointed. Gissing would have discouraged Roberts from his prodigious, costly, wayward labors in building a separate foundation in biology as a basis for his theories. He would have supported his patience to wait for an eventual triumph in critical esteem. Without Gissing, Roberts turned more and more to the scientific world for the support his high self-esteem badly needed. And he *won* it. But it was a Pyrrhic victory, at the cost of a belated appreciation of the genius that a number of critics have already saluted: Morchard Bishop, Storm Jameson, Oliver Edwards.

There is the gesture of a neatly knotted novel in the chance that one of Roberts's most loyal supporters in his biological research, W. Langdon Brown, became the Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge University, to which Roberts's most distinguished teacher of English Literature, Professor Adolphus William Ward, came as Master of Peterhouse in 1900, and then as the Vice-Chancellor in 1901. Roberts's own two worlds had met.

But it is the man of literature who deserves to last, not the man of science. Morley Roberts was a Victorian in being blessed with an unbounded faith in himself. The outlet of his literary creativity was dramatic struggle, intense struggle, against physical forces and conventional forces, the parallel theme to his biological creativity. The pressures he described with greatest authority were *against* things; his primary aim as ego-inside-artist was to win. The gravity stabilizing his concern with struggle was the moral attraction of being free from all repression. He was a determined enemy of deductive thinking, a champion of individual, inductive, experiential thinking. His art has a rare diversity and range of moods, from a Biblical, didactic dignity, through shades of tenderness and of violence, on to hilarious farce. Jack London is the only writer I can confidently mention as resem-

bling him in flexing his powers with equal zest for physical struggle and social struggle.

## SOURCES

Records of the Registrar of the University of Manchester; Minutes of the Senate; Minutes of the Council of the Senate; Minutes of the Owens College Union; Current Calendars; Bye-Laws of the College, 1873; notes made by the present Registrar of the University of Manchester, Vincent Knowles, M.A., O.B.E., for whose opening to me of the Archives of the University I am deeply grateful.